A MOST TRVE And exact *RELATION* OF That as Honourable as unfortunate Expedition of *Kent*, *Essex*, and *Colchester*.

By *M. C.*
A Loyall Actor in that Engagement,
Anno Dom. 1648.

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The Authors Letter to the Publiſher.

To the truly Noble, and my Worthily honoured friend Sir C. K.

Honoured Sir,

SInce through the Calamitous, and dark diſtractions of theſe unfortunate times, I am thus ecclips'd, and linkt to an ill and duskie fate; as by being Cloyſter'd in a Dungeon, am debarr'd of that happy liberty that might allow me the wiſh'd-for opportunity of kiſſing your hands; Yet am I thus only Cloyſter'd, ſince though my Body ſuffer a moſt ſevere and ſtrict confinement, it rather addes to the liberty of my Soul, and makes it expatiate it ſelfe with a greater Freedome; And ſo I

am alwayes waiting on you, though not to your apprehenſion, yet with my better Genius; and though not as an Angell guarding you, yet ſtill attending the illuſtrious throne of the All-powerfull Majeſty in my wiſhes, and Prayers for you.

And that you may not onely know the reality of my Soul, but the command alſo you have over it; I have adventured to anſwer (in my obedience) your Will, though perhaps not Expectation, in ſending to you, with this my account of *Colcheſter*; by which you ſhall only underſtand I ſtood not there as a dumb Cypher, though not as a very eminently active Figure: Other Honour to my ſelf I dare not appropriate by it, but am content (chuſing *ex malis minimum*) to lay open to your ſerious ſcanning my greateſt imperfections, rather than adventure the hazard of falling under the cenſure of ingratefull diſobedience; hoping your Charity will extend to a Courteous reception of my Imbecillities, becauſe cloathed with as cheerfull endeavours; in which garb they humbly thus come to waite on you, having for attendance onely this ſerious requeſt: That your own eyes alone may be made witneſſes of their nakedneſſe.

For

For though I know that truth (which I assure you here really is, and nothing else) need not be abash't who ever she meet with, she is naturally of her self so Beautifull, and never was more than in this service: Yet I am sensible enough how grosse an absurdity it is for any man to send her abroad in vile, and ragged unshapen Garments; of which I must acknowledge my self too much too guilty to expect a Justification when I shall appear at the bar of a judicious Examination; but therefore suffer under the condemnation of a just and weighty Censure.

Which I might the more seriously expect, were it more exactly done, should it come to the publick stage, since I have been inform'd, and made it my observation too, how the Honour of that unparallel'd action is dayly crucified, with a confusion of monstrous, and prejudiciall opinions, almost metamorphosing it into a prodigious disguise past knowledge.

Yet I have a little digressed as possible, knowing that many passionate Historians transported with splean against Tyrants, or too great a luxury in the glorification of those theyhonored, have imperfectly delineated the image of Truth; like *Aurelius* a *Roman*

Painter, who, when he was to draw the face of any Image, alwayes made it to the reſemblance of a Woman that he moſt dearly affected.

But I have confined my ſelf to a ſtrict Commentary of the reall paſſages; and to adde more to your ſatisfaction, I have drawn my riſe not onely from the firſt ſtep of it's motion, but the cauſe that gave a product to that motion. By which means it muſt prove ſomething more tedious to you; Yet if your patience ſhall ſo far ſympathize with my deſires, as my obedience hath done to your will; and at ſome intermiſſe times permit you to run it over: You ſhall not only receive the benefit of ſatisfaction to your own phancy in requitall, but a knowledge to give the like to others that you ſhall finde unreſolv'd, and deſerving, in it, and heap much of Obligation and Honour on

Your moſt entirely devoted,

and humbleſt Servant,

M. C.

To the Reader.

INgenious Reader, (for to none other doe I wiſh this may come) not that I value any mans cenſure of the Author, but becauſe it is an Age wherein Truth is accounted Diabolicall, and Loyalty a Treaſon unpardonable: And I may juſtly ſuppoſe ſome thick-skull'd Separatiſt, or frothy-brain'd Ignoramus, whoſe cuſtomes are to criticize, becauſe they would undervalue what they fancie not, as much as what they underſtand not, will be ſwarming about it with their Hypocriticall Cenſures to ſtifle it with an undeſerving odium: But let not the ſo ſlo-ſlovenly, and obſcure birth of this off-ſpring of Loyall Zeale, any whit derogate from its worth in your opinion; for you cannot but know, that many gallant Pieces, and Perſonages, have received life

from as great an obſcurity; and truly I ſhall thus far Apologize for it, (though its deſerts require not any) read but the fore-going Letter, (not at all intended for what is now placed) and you ſhall eaſily underſtand, that the Authors will, and deſire of not publiſhing it, as not intending it for the publike ſtage of the world, hath been the chiefeſt reaſon of it: having made it his requeſt, as being diffident of its worth, that it might not ſuffer the danger of the Preſſe. But I having raiſed a contrary reaſon, and far exceeding his for ſilencing, from the ſame grounds, thought it a greater evill to let ſo worthy a ſtructure lye buryed in the wombe of perpetuall oblivion, when it had received ſo happy a conception, then to give it a laſting life, though by ſo obſcure a birth.

I cannot but expect that the ſo many Legions of Lyes, that doe every day oppreſſe the very Preſſe it ſelfe, and tyre out mens fancies with their mutinous tumults

mults upon the Stage of the world, will be ever juſtling at ſo handſome and candid a piece of Loyall truth, whilſt the Devill the Father of Lyes is ſo much adored, and Chriſt that fountaine of honour and truth crucified and ſlandered every houre amongſt us. But I am confident their power will never prevaile to beat it off, while there is yet a ſparke of Loyaltie left to light us through this dark Chaos of Atheiſticall Rebellion.

That I am cautious of too plainly divulging its Author, is, becauſe otherwiſe there might much of inconveniency accrue to him for ſo bold a diſcovery of his conſcience, (being already in priſon) by the ſplenitick malice of ſome baſe-born phlegmatick diſpoſitions; whoſe ſtomacks are ſo full gorg'd with Rebellion againſt God and his Vicegerent, they can brooke or digeſt nothing that ſavours not of Treaſon or Diſloyalty.

Theſe reaſons being well weighed by any ingenious and Loyall Reader, will be ſuf-

ſufficient. Wherefore I ſhall urge no more, but deſire all ſuch, as they peruſe, to draw examples of Loyaltie from it, and pick not out more cautiouſly what they may more artificially convert to poyſon, if not liked; as it is too often ſeen: and let your conſtant endeavour (who ere you be) in the behalfe and Service of your King, and Country, exceed his if you can; then cenſure and ſpare not; So wiſhing all mens Conſciences as good and faithfull Subjects to a ſweet and glorious Prince ought to be, Reader I commit you to the protection of Heaven ſo long as you are ſo, and bid you farewell.

Your Friend as you
cenſure mine,

C. K.

A moſt true and exact Relation of that as Honourable as unfortunate expedition of Kent, Eſſex, *and* Colcheſter.

UPon *Chriſtmas* day, 1647. many Gentlemen and others of the meaner ranke in the City of *Canterbury* in *Kent*, being Religiouſly diſpoſed to the Service of Almighty God, according to the Liturgy and Orders of the Church, (a hainous offence, I muſt confeſſe, in theſe times of Reformation) met at Saint *Andrews* Church in the High Street, where M. *Allday* the Reſident Miniſter of the Pariſh preached to them a Sermon anſwerable to the day; A thing ſo much out of Cuſtome now, that we begin to forget even that Chriſt was ever borne, as well as the Celebration of his Birth. And now this piece of orderly and Chriſtian Devotion ſtartled the conſciences of the new Saints, who enflamed with fiery zeale, began to make tumults in the ſtreets, and

and under the Church windowes, thinking thereby to drown the voice of the Preacher: but it could not any whit diſcourage him from perſiſting in his holy and devout Exerciſe.

The Sermon being done, the people began to flock more tumultuouſly together, ſo that the diſturbance encreaſed very much; By the meanes eſpecially of the Major, (a man indeed *Knave* enough, and I thinke as much *Foole*, as appeares by this) who walking through the Streets purpoſely, would have forc'd ſome people to open their Shops, and ſet out their Wares to keep the Market (the day being Saturday, and Market day) but he denying, and urging of it more ſeriouſly; one man anſwering his Commands with ſome words which he could not well reliſh, he ſtrook him a blow in the face with his Fiſt: Making himſelf, by that means, the firſt ingager and inſtrument to the breach of that Peace, which upon all occaſions whatever, he was Sworn to ſee kept and preſerved.

This made a greater Diſtraction and Hubbub in the City; and many men throng'd together, and ſo mad they grew, that the Mayors heeles were ſoon flung up, and all his

his Worſhip thrown in the Channell, he was afterwards glad to ſhift for his life, as he ſuppoſed. But one of the Conſtables, by name and quality *Huſe*, a Shoo-maker, a Senior of the Faction, ran haſtily out with a Piſtoll in his hand; and running up and down the Streetes with aggravating Clamours ſummons out his Crue, who immediately tumbled out of their houſes with their Armes in their hands, and ſuch miſchievous Weapons as firſt they could lay hold of, in ſuch haſt, they over-powred all they met: among the reſt, one *White* a Barber, (a man ſwell'd as full of ungodly Schiſmaticall Principles of Rebellion as a Toad with poyſon) ſtanding in the Street with a Musket loaded, and his match ready cockt, meeting another man by chance ſtepping forth of his doore, as being Inquiſitive to underſtand the occaſion of the tumult; whom he knew to be one that fancyed not his humour, made not much diſpute with him, but upon his queſtioning his ſtanding in that poſture, lets fly at him, and Shot him through the Body, ſo that there was little hope of life in him.

Thus the buſineſſe grew ſtill to a greater height, and more people ſtill flocked together

ther, as it is alwayes ſeene in ſuch Mutinous Broyles; and many bickerings fell out in the Streetes: But ere long thoſe Gentlemen, who ranged about as furiouſly at firſt, as *Herods* Souldiers in the Infant Martyrdome, began to ſlink, and were at laſt glad to betake themſelves to their heeles, and every one to ſhift for himſelfe. *White* being taken, was committed to Cuſtody into the Towne Goal, there to lie till he ſhould receive the Juſtice of the Law for ſo horrid a Villany.

The other party being thus enraged, and incenſed by ſo foul an Affront, began to think of their owne ſecurity; and knowing the malice of thoſe they ſhould moſt certainly have to do with, ſeized on the Magazine of the Town, and placed Guards about at every Gate of the City; fearing that miſchief which indeed afterwards came to paſſe, and might have been prevented, had they not thought themſelves too ſecure. At laſt they grew ſomething violent, and encreaſed to a very great number, till Sir *William Man*, Maſter *Lovelace* the Councellour, and ſome other Gentlemen, by an extraordinary Induſtry had perſwaded them to a quiet deſiſting from proſecuting

ſecuting thoſe raſh Attempts which they boldly reſolved on; engaging themſelves with the Mayor, and Maſter *Savin* an Alderman, and Juſtice of Peace, by Articles drawn up, and Signed between them, that no man ſhould be moleſted or queſtioned for an thing that was done.

Upon this, they all quietly lay down their Armes, and every man betook himſelſe to his Vocation, and particular Habitation, which elſe might have produced greater matters both in that City and the whole County.

About a moneth after, upon the inſtigation of the Mayor, whoſe malice could not be appeaſed without revenge, by Order of Parliament came down Col. *Huſons* Regiment of Foot from about *London* to quarter in *Canterbury*; who no ſooner were ſettled in their quarters, but by Order from the Houſe they ſeized on Sir *Will: Man*, Maſter *Lovelace*, M. *Savine*, M. *Dudley Wiles*, and ſome other Gentlemen; and many poor men of the City alſo, and hurried them away to *Leeds* Caſtle neer *Maidſtone*, where they continued Priſoners about two moneths, and more, till ſome of the poorer ſort that had not where withall to ſubſiſt

(none

(none daring to relieve them) were wel nigh ſtarved there, as their Wives and Families at home. At laſt, with ſome ſolicitation of the Gentlemen to the Houſe, by the mediation of the Burgeſſes of the City, and ſome other of the Deputy Lieutenants of the County, who began to be a little touch'd with a ſence of their abominable Injury, procured ſo much favour as to have Baile taken for their Liberty, till they ſhould be called upon to anſwer at the Barre of their Mock-Juſtice for this high and unpardonable Ryot of Peace-making. This high favour being obtained, they all returned home; but they were no ſooner there, and ſcarce ſetled, but the Mayor, out of his own power, having Myrmidons enough then to maintain him in any thing, though never ſo ignoble, wicked, or unjuſt, (although hee had before Signed to the Articles of Indempnity, and that thoſe poor men had ſuffered ſo much miſery, notwithſtanding) would have had all thoſe of the moſt Inferiour rank to be Whipt, or ride the Wooden Horſe; for now he knew how to domineer, having the Souldiers to clap him at the back, and encourage what ever he would doe: But by the more grave advice of ſome of his more

more moderate Brethren he was taken off from that project,& the busines lay quiet till about a forthnight before *Whitsontide*; at which time the Parl. gave Commission of speciall Oyer and Terminer for a Court of Sessions in the Castle at *Canterbury*, and sent done Sergeant *Wild*, and Sergeant *Steel* to try them upon Life and Death, who in the whole businesse were the onely Sufferers, and the Raisers of that, got either to be their Judges, or Witnesses against them to condemne them. Condemned indeed beforehand, as by the sequell appeares.

A Grand Jury also was Summoned in of Gentlemen from every Lathe of the County, and none to be prickt but such as they thought so well affected to the Parliament as to cast any whom they should desire to convict. All the Deputy Lieutenants were also appointed to meet at this great Sessions; Sir *Michaell Lusey* being then one of the House, and not in Command (a Colonell in the Service once, and before that, in debt farre beyond what he was worth, but now clear from all, and his Estate very much augmented) made it his suite to the House that he might have leave to be there at the Bench, which he soon obtained; and

comming down, made it his Brags that he thanked God he had obtained leave of the Houſe to be there, and that he would endeavour to ſet ſome of thoſe Gentlemen packing to another World, which he would willingly have done had God given ſo large a power into his hands; but his protection guarded them from the intended ruine theſe Unjuſt Judges had pre-ordained them to.

For the day being come, and the Judges and Bench in much State and Pomp ſet, the Priſoners were ſummoned to theBar,and the Jury Impannell'd: Then the Indictment was read, and the Jury ſent out to bring in their Verdict,who retiring, and ſcanning the buſineſſe after they had heard the Indictment pleaded againſt, found an Ignoramus upon it; and being again brought in, gave in their Verdict accordingly, at which the Bench wondred, and the Judges were much diſpleaſed, having reſolved their doome beforehand; wherefore the Jury was a ſecond time commanded forth, and againe returned the ſame Verdict; whereupon the Judges, as it were forc'd to it, cleared the buſineſſe for that time, and broke up the Court, but would not abſolutely quit them,

till

till the House should resolve farther upon it, intending to have brought them to a second Triall: But ere the Bench could rise, came in a Packet from the House of Parliament, with a Relation of that great defeat given the *Welch* at S. *Fagons* neer *Cardiff* in *Glamorganshire*; which being read, one of the Bench rising up, said to one of the Grand Jury, *Had we known but this newes before, we would have made you found something else than an Ignoramus*: But the Gentleman being a resolute man, and as Conscientious, soone made him this answer, *Neither your newes Sir, nor your threatning words should have made us give in a Verdict upon another mans Life, contrary to the result of our Consciences.*

Let the world now judge by this, what the Justice of these men is, whom nothing but fear shall keep from committing Homicide and murder on their fellow-Christians, Subjects and Country, upon the very seats of Justice and Judgement.

After this passage, the Grand Jury all meeting together, began to revolve in their discourses, (being aggravated by so inconscionable a speech) of the intollerable misery and slavery this wretched Kingdome was involved and plunged into; and under

what a Tyranny they did now ſuffer, by the Unlimited, Uſurped, and Arbitrary Juriſdiction their fellow-Subjects now uſed over them, as ſo many illegall Lords & Kings; ſupported in it, by the unmercifull power of the blood-thirſty Sword; ſtill diſputing with much reſolution and boldneſſe among themſelves, which way they might beſt ſet themſelves Free-men from ſuch an inhumane ſlavery, and unſufferable bondage: They reſolved unanimouſly at the laſt to Petition their Servants (that ſhould be) the Commons, and their Servants Servants, the Lords once more, to ſee if they could be perſwaded yet into any remorſe, or conſideration of the miſery with which they had overwhelm'd this gaſping Common-wealth. Where a Petition was drawn up, and after ſome Correction, ſhewed to ſome of the Deputy Leiutenants, who ſeeing the Gentlemen ſo confident in it, though viſibly againſt their Intereſt they were ſenſible enough it was, yet durſt not diſ-approve of it. The Petition was as followeth:

TO

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons Assembled in PARLIAMENT *at Westminster.*

The Humble Petition of the Knights, Gentry, Clergy, and Comminalty of the County of *Kent*, Subscribed by the Grand Jury the 11 of *May*, 1648. at the Sessions of the Judges upon an especiall Commission of Oyer and Terminer, then Executed at the Castle of *Canterbury* for the said County.

Sheweth,

THat the deep sence of our own Miseries, with a fellow-feeling of the Discontents of other Counties expos'd to the like Sufferings; prevaileth, with us, thus humbly to present to your Honours these our ardent desires.

1. That our moſt Gracious Soveraigne Lord King *Charles*, may with all ſpeed be admitted in Safety and Honour to Treat in Perſon with his two Houſes of Parliament, for the perfect ſetling of the Peace both of Church and Common-wealth, as alſo of his own Juſt Rights, together with thoſe of the Parliament.

2. That for prevention, and removall of the manifold inconveniences occaſioned by the continuance of the preſent Army under the Command of the Lord *Fairfax*, their Arrears may be forthwith audited, and they Disbanded.

3. That according to the Fundamentall Conſtitution of this Common-wealth, we may for the future be governed and judged by (the *Engliſh* Subjects undoubted Birth-right) the known and eſtabliſhed Lawes of the Kingdome, and not otherwiſe.

4. That according to the Petition of Right, our Property may not be invaded by any Taxes or Impoſitions whatſoever; and particularly that the heavy burthen of

Exciſe

Exciſe may no longer be continued, or hereafter impoſed upon us.

All which our earneſt deſires we humbly recommend to your grave and ſerious conſiderations, not doubting of that ſpeedy ſatisfaction therein, which the caſe requires, and We humbly expect: Whereby we may well hope to ſee (What otherwiſe We cannot but deſpair of) a ſpeedy and happy end of thoſe ſad and heavy preſſures and diſtempers, whoſe continuance will inevitably ruin both our ſelves and our Poſterities: Your timely prevention whereof, by a cheerfull condeſcent to what we here propound, in order thereunto, ſhall oblige us ever to pray, &c.

Which Petition ſoon obtain'd the approbation of all the Gentry and Clergy, excepting ſome who were troubled with the heart-burning Faction, and could not digeſt ſo great a State-pill. Some Deputy Lieftenants alſo did approve of it, and willingly Signed; others ſeemed to approve of it likewiſe, but when they were deſired to Signe, ſlipt their necks out of the Coller, and left the

City: but that day it was Signed by above two hundred Gentlemen then in the City, and Copies tranſcribed, and diſperſed amongſt them all, by which means, by a very quick flight they were diſperſed over all the County alſo; there being ſo many Gentlemen then met together from every Lath and Hundred, a more fitting opportunity could never have been fancied. Then on the backſide of every Petition was Endorſed this Poſt-ſcript:

It is deſired, that all Copies and Subſcriptions be brought into Rocheſter *on Munday, the* 29. *of this Inſtant* May 1648. *And that all who intend to accompany this Petition doe meet at* Black-heath *the day following by nine of the Clock in the morning.*

By this meanes the whole County might unanimouſly go, not only in their Subſcriptions, but in the preſentation of it to the Parliament.

But there were at the ſame time ſome of the Grandees, in the City, who by no means could ſwallow it, leſt it ſhould have choaked their Reputation, with the Houſe; and indeed, being ſtung with too guilty a Conſcience, found this pill too harſh a Corraſive to them. Amongſt the reſt, Sir *Henry Heyman,*

Heyman, and Sir *Michaell Lnfey*, who poſted immediately away to the Parliament to give them a timely notice, for prevention of a deſigne ſo Honourable, Conſcientious, and Religious, but abſolutely deſtructive to their Intereſt and Proceedings; or at leaſt, that they might, by being *præmoniti*, be alſo *præmuniti*, which two are ſeldome other then Correlatives; the one drawing a uſuall conſequence from the other, as indeed it proved by them, as will afterwards appear by their Votes, and Stratagems againſt it.

But ere they went, out of the tender affection his rebellious Bowels yearn'd with, towards his true Bretheren in Iniquity, went to the Priſon where *White* the Barber lay for his horrid Villany; (the man not being yet recovered) and brought him out, with hat in hand, giving him thanks for his ſo good ſervice, and extraordinary zeal to the Cauſe; and thus ſet him at liberty without ever being queſtioned for his Fact.

Upon Sunday following, Letters were ſent from the Speaker of the Lower Houſe, to all the Deputy Lieftenants in the County, and what Juſtices of Peace the Houſe thought good, that they underſtood of an intended Petition to be preferred to the Houſe

Houſe from that County, willing them to uſe their utmoſt indeavours for the ſpeedy preventing it, and ſuppreſſing the people in it. Never diſputing the Juſtice of it, nor injuſtice of themſelves in denying the proceeding of it, which was as horrid as might be for any man that knowes how to judge between right and wrong almoſt in any thing, knowes that the intentions of a Kings calling a Parliament are for the ſpeedy redreſſing the agrievances of his Kingdome, and the admitting by him, and the chooſing by the People, the Commons into Parliament never for any other reaſon then to preſent the Agrievances of the Commons in generall for what part of the Kingdome they ſerved as Repreſentatives, by way of Petition, from them to the King and Lords for redreſſe. But they have now ſo altered the Conſtitution of Parliament by their newfound *Kirk-lawes* of Reformation, that no man, no not the beſt of Polititians is Phyſitian good enough to feel its pulſe, though in a moſt horrid diſtraction too of ill humours; and our bleſſed Reformers have ſo long faught for the Priviledge of Parliament, as that they have both loſt that, and the Liberty, and true Rights of the Subject, with

with the Prerogative of the King to Boot; and Metamorpoſed the Lawes of the Kingdome into the ſhapeleſſe monſter of an Arbitrary Government, and Tyrannous power of the Sword.

But theſe Letters alſo they were ordered and authoriz'd to Seize, and Surprize all perſons they ſhould find, or ſuſpect to to be active in the proſecution of it; & to ſecure all Caſtles, Towns, and ſtrong holds in the County; and by their greateſt care to prevent all publick Meetings at any places whatſoever within the County, except their own. Then began the Committee to thunder abroad their loud menaces with high threats, to all ſuch as ſhould dare to proſecute ſo bold a Villany, and tumultuous Seditions, as they tearmed it; and iſſued forth a Libellous Order againſt it, and all ſuch as ſhould ſigne it, or any way proſecute the progreſſe of it amongſt the people, by any publique or ſiniſter means. The Order was as followes.

By

By the Deputy Lieutenants of the County of KENT, the City, and County of *Canterbury*, at their Generall Meeting at *Maidstone* the 16. of *May*, 1648.

WHereas we understand, that diverse persons have given out, that they intend to assemble themselves towards the latter end of this Moneth, or the beginning of the next, at severall dayes and places, upon pretence of carrying a Petition to the Parliament, which doth concern matter against the Authority of both Houses, and tendeth to the raising of Seditions and Tumults, within this County: We having lately received a speciall Command from the House, to use our best endeavours for the preserving the peace of that County, doe hereby, in order thereunto, advise all whom it may concerne, to forbear all occasions of publick disturbance, by any such pretence whatsoever: And if any well-affected persons have beene abused, and misled, so as to Signe, or procure hands to any such seditious Paper under the name of a Petition, and upon false-giving out, that the Deputy Lieutenants of this County doe ap-

approve thereof, to the end that ſuch well-meaning perſons may be undeceived, we having ſeen a Copie of the ſaid pretended Petition, doe hereby ſignifie our utter deteſtation of ſuch Seditious practices: and doe adviſe all well-wiſhers to their Countries peace to take heed thereof, and to Counſell, and perſwade their Neighbours accordingly: And if any pretended Copies of ſuch pretended Petition come unto, or be in their hands, to deliver up the ſame unto the next Deputy Lieutenant. And we doe hereby, require the Miniſters of ſeverall Pariſhes publickly to read this ſignification in their Pariſh Churches upon the next Lords Day after the receit hereof, immediately before they begin their Morning Sermon; And the Church Wardens of the ſeverall Pariſhes, are hereby required the next day after the time appointed for the ſaid Publication, to certifie what hath beene done therein under their hands unto the next Deputy Lieutenants, who is hereby directed forthwith to tranſmit the ſaid Certificate to the ſtanding Committee at Maidſtone, *that ſo notice may be taken what Miniſters, and Church Wardens or other Perſons doe their Duty therein: And ſuch as ſhall be found wil-*

wilfully faulty, may be proceeded againſt accordingly.

Ant: Wilding.	Thomas Syliard.
John Rivers.	Lam: Godfrey.
Richard Lee.	Will: James.
Thomas Lewis.	John Bix.
James Oxenden.	Will:Kenioraſh.
Richard Beale.	

To the Mayor of Graveſend, *who is hereby required to cauſe Proclamation hereof to be read in open Market, next day after the receit hereof, in the height of the Market by the common Cryer, and afterwards to deliver it to the Miniſter of the ſaid Pariſh to read it in the Church.*

But this violent courſe of theirs in indeavouring to obſtruct, added rather a more vigorous life to it, and made it fly through the County with a far greater velocity, and the more exaſperated the whole Country to a proſecution of it, according to the ſaying of *Seneca: Patientia læſa fit furor.*

The whole County being, by this means, enraged, they reſolv'd upon the proſecution of their Petition, being ſo farre engaged,

maugre

maugre all obſtructions what ever, which cauſed many meetings of the Gentry, in *Canterbury* & *Rocheſter*, and diverſe other places of the County, at which meetings the buſineſſe was more deliberately weighed; and upon a ſerious deliberate ſcanning they found themſelves likely to be loſt in a maze of Inconveniencies if they went not reſolutely forward in what they had begun, whereupon this Order of the Committee was re-viewed, and a Vindication of their proceedings in Anſwer to it, drawn up, and publiſhed as followeth:

The Petitioners Vindication and Anſwer to the Deputy Lieutenants Declaration againſt the ſaid Petition.

WE *the Knights, Gentry, Clergy, and Comminalty of the County of* Kent, *who have Subſcribed, and do intend to preſent the reall Petition (which is abſolutely called a pretended one, and a Seditious Paper) to the Honourable the Lords and Commons Aſſembled in Parliament at* Weſtminſter, *according to the Juſt Rights and Priviledges of the Subjects of* England, *in purſuance of the Suſcriptions of the Grand*

Jury

Jury of our County the 11. *of* May, 1648. *(who are, and ought to be repreſenters of the ſence of our County) have taken notice of a late Order, or Declaration, of the Deputy Lieutenants of our County, of the* 16. *of* May, 1648. *tending to the diſcountenancing, and ſuppreſſing of our ſaid Petition; and untruly charging the ſame to containe matter againſt the Authority of both Houſes (to whom it is addreſſed) and the Petitioners to be raiſers of Sedition and Tumults. In a deep ſence whereof, and indignation of ſuch falſe Scandalls impoſed upon us, we doe declare to the world,*

That the matter of the Petition, containes in it, nothing but what is Juſt, and fit for freeborne Subjects to demand, and tends to the preſerving of the Peace, not onely of our County, but of the Whole Kingdome.

And the manner of our Intentions to proſecute the ſame ſhall be ſo peaceable (on our parts) as ſhall not give occaſion of Tumults, or publick Diſturbance.

We doe proteſt againſt raiſing of any Factions againſt the Parliament, to whom we addreſſe our ſelves for a Juſt reliefe of our Grievances: In purſuance of the Right of Subjects, and their own Ordinances, and our intentions ſo peaceable, we muſt declare,

That

That (notwithstanding all menacing threats, published to our discouragement) we shall go on to prosecute our just rights and desires, in such a way as shall neither render us guilty of Sedition, or publick Disturbance; nor of betraying our selves to the violence of such who shall unjustly endeavour to oppose us.

And we doe desire all persons of our Comity, well-affected to the said Petition, not to be discouraged from the just prosecution thereof, upon any Threats or Orders whatsoever. Our intention being (if it shall please God to dispose us) to sacrifice our Lives and Fortunes in the prosecution of these our just Rights and Desires.

We have not a desire to deceive any Man, nor have we endeavoured to mislead any, with pretending the Deputy Lieutenants approbation of our Petition. Nor doe we desire any to joyne with us, but those whose Reason and Conscience dictate to themselves the sence of our Petition.

Now the Committees began to bestirre themselves on the other party with more resolution, because they saw Threats would no whit prevail to their Advantage; and sent out their Warrants for all the Trained

Troops and Companies to meet at Rendezvouze at severall places of the County. But this neither would availe, or any whit answer their Expectations; for, not any shewed in answer to their Warrant, but rather absented themselves from their Homes, except Captain *Foach*, and some of his Troop; who, with about twenty of his Men, met together, and Marched away to *Maidstone* there to attend the Committee, who thought it by this, time to consider of their own security. Sir *T. T.* sent out his Warrants likewise for his Troop to meet him at *Barham* Down, where appeared some ten, but not one Officer, nor any Colours, for his Officers were all engaged for prosecution of the Petition. There he waited almost all the day in constant hopes and expectation of their comming up; but towards night, no more appearing, he dispatcht his Man away to *Canterbury*, to see if any were met together there, and to Invite them (for now he durst not Command) but his Worships man no sooner entered the Gates of the City, but he was surprized by a Guard there, and Dismounted, and so forc'd to return back to his Master on foot. In the interim Sir *T.* staying on the Downes with his few

few men he had, by chance was reſolved to drink; and calling for ſome Beer, one of his men began the Kings Health to him, which relliſhed not well with his Pallate, having long time been a truſty Wight for the Parliament; and as he ſaid, not being accuſtomed to drink Healths, it would impaire his own Health very much; but indeed was ſomething jealous they did that but as an occaſion to advance ſome other Inconveniency to him: Whereupon he ſtole away from them, and clapping his heeles to his Mule (for Spurs he ſeldome wore any) away he drove as furiouſly as *Jehu*, never making the leaſt ſtop till he thought he was clear of the danger of the Cannon Jug; and like a Hare, regarding nothing before him; overtaking by chance another of the Deputy Lieutenants more ſuttlely plodding along, and ruminating upon the buſineſſe; he had certainly over-run him had his Beaſt been big enough to have performed it without taking any notice of him; ſo extraordinary was his haſt, as I was informed by the ſame Deputy Lieutenant himſelf.

Now, as it was high time, the Gentlemen engaged in the Petition began to conſider farther of their Intereſt; and being ſo farre

engaged, how to make what they had done good, and which way with moſt ſecurity to goe forwards; for retreat they could not now, and not to perfect what they had initiated, was not only to undoe it, but themſelves alſo without diſpute; wherefore they neglected not to meet every day. And conſidering withall, the imminent danger of that perpetuall ſlavery, not only they, but the whole Kingdome were fallen into; and the extremitie of violence the Grand Taxments of the Kingdome did threaten to cruſh them with, for but Petitioning (with the Children of *Iſraell* under the ſlaviſh Tyranny of *Pharaoh*) for eaſe of their burdens; reſolved like Men of *Kent* to maintain, if it were poſſible, their Ancient Honour and Liberties, or to periſh in the Attempt, which indeed they knew muſt prove a hard difficulty, having ſuch an infection within themſelves all over the whole body of the County; inſomuch that they knew not any ſound part in it, but that every one might be likely enough to cherriſh and breed up Vermin to deſtroy it. But yet, notwithſtanding their lofty menacings, and Bug-bear threats, to proceed in their Engagement. Whereupon a Manifeſto was drawne up by them,

and

and Signed as an absolute and unanimous Engagement amongst themselves, and afterwards dispersst to the view of the whole world, that all might know the candid reality of their Resolutions, in these words:

THat the Innocency of our intentions, and Justice of all our undertakings may clearly appear to all men of uncorrupt understandings, and hearts not made too servile by the long, and odious custome of Oppression. We the Knights, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Franchlins of the County of Kent, *the most free people of this late flourishing Nation, by the wisdome and valour of our Ancestours delivered from the Lawes of the Conquerour, and to the late dayes of unhappy confusion and distraction enjoying the same, through all the raignes of the most glorious, and victorious Kings and Princes of this Nation: Doe hereby declare, and manifest to all the world, that our Meetings, and Assembling together, is no other then a Vindication of our selves, and purposes from the scandall and aspersions of the Committee of this County; who, upon occasion of a Petition, in behalf of the County of* Kent, *assented, and subscribed to, by the Grand Jury at the Sessions of the Judges, upon speciall Commission of*

Oyer and Terminer, executed at the Caſtle of Canterbury *the* 11. *of* May *inſtant for the ſaid County; have not only made Orders againſt the ſame, and Commanded them publickly to be read in all Churches, ſentencing and condemning the ſaid Petition, and all the Abettors thereof; but have ſummoned the Troopes of Horſe, and forces of Foot of this County for ſuppreſſion of the ſaid Petition. Which tends not only to the ſuppreſſion of the Liberty even of the moſt enſlaved perſons in the World, but alſo, as much as in them lies, ſhew an indeavour upon any cauſes whatſoever, which ſuit not with their humours, to over-awe the ſentences of other men; and, upon oppoſition therein, think they have ground enough to take away the lives or fortunes, or both, of their ſaid oppoſers.*

In conſideration Whereof, and that now the ſaid Committee finding themſelves unable to involve this County in bloud, have made their addreſſes to the Parliament and Army; and make ſtrange, and malicious repreſentations of our purpoſes, thereby diſcovering nothing ſo much as their owne pride and malice.

We the ſaid Knights, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Free Yeomen of the ſaid County of Kent, *doe hereby appeal to all the World to*

judge, if it were not high time for us to put our ſelves into a poſture of defence: And doe further declare, that we will proſecute our ſaid Petition, with our lives and fortunes, not doubting of a faire reception from the two Houſes of Parliament, whom we know to have been inſtigated againſt us by the ſaid Committee.

And therefore, ſaving to our ſelves, the enlarging of the ſaid Petition: We have reſolved to charge the ſaid Committee with increaſing the Taxes of this County above due proportion, and onely for maintaining their owne private luxury and pride; With uſurping a power over the Eſtates and Fortunes of the free-men of this County, not granted to them by any power of Parliament; and with a Tyrannicall, unlimitted, and imbittered ſpirit naturally engrafted in them, and expreſſed by words and actions all along the exerciſe of this power (which makes them unfit to rule) to the exaſperating of the peoples hearts into all animoſity, and overthrowing of all love and peace in this County: which alſo hath been followed to that height of perſecution, that had not the two Houſes given a ſtop to their exorbitant proceedings, We had ſuffered much more under the torment of theſe mens projected deſignes.

Wherein We doe acknowledge our ſelves alſo to have been ſecured in the temper and moderation of the Houſes. We have no more to ſay or doe, but to defend our ſelves till we can have a right underſtanding of our purpoſes and actions before the Houſes. In the mean time We ſhall look upon all oppoſition as the provocation of a conſcious and endangered Committee; and in reſpect of the Invaſion lately made upon the perſons of our neighbours, we think fit not to lie at the mercy of the Souldiers, but to have refuge to our Armes, from which no threats, or face of Souldiery ſhall drive us, knowing well the juſtice of our Cauſe, and the temper of our own Hearts.

Thus reſolv'd they proceeded in their deſigne, ſeizing all the Armes and Ammunition at *Scots* Hall, *Aſhford*, *Feverſham*, and diverſe other places, whilſt Sir *Michael Laſey*, and ſome others of the Deputy Lieutenants ceaſed not to act, to the utmoſt of their power, for the ſuppreſſing of them; But Eſquire *Hales* (being a man well beloved, and that indeed for his true deſert, and worth) in ſhort time had raiſed a great party in that part of the County; and falling to work with thoſe bold oppoſers, ſoon laid

laid their Power flat, and their Honour in the duſt, till at laſt they were forc'd to ſhift for a better ſecurity than their Armes, and took ſanctuary in Sir *Peter Ricots* houſe at *Ailsford*; but the Foxes lay not long there ere his Terriers were ſo neer forcing them forth, that they were glad to make Conditions for Law to run away from them; which being granted, they delivered up the Houſe, a great Magazine of Armes and Ammunition, which proved very ſerviceable to the Victors.

In the interim other parties being encreaſed, and modell'd into order, ſtill moved up and down, and received all that wiſhed well, and had ſigned and engaged in the Petition, who were ſo unanimous, that within two dayes ſpace there were ſtrong parties gotten together about *Wy*, *Aſhford*, *Sittingborne*, *Rocheſter*, *Graveſend*, and diverſe other places; inſomuch, that the whole Committee were glad to make triall of the old Proverb, *One paire of legs is worth two pair of hands*, ſo they poſted away to *London* to tell a lamentable ſtory to the Parliament. Captaine *Lee*, and another of the Houſe being ſent downe by order of the Houſe, came to *Rocheſter* to Parley with

thoſe

thoſe that were met there; where, upon debate of the buſineſſe, they uſed the greateſt policy they could to perſwade them to accept of an Act of Indempnity from the Houſe, and to lay down their deſigne; but theſe Gentlemen were immediately confin'd, and were forc't to treat for their owne Indempnity and Liberty at laſt; for well the Engagers knew what the Indempnity of the Houſe would be, if once they laid their Swords out of their hands, and were ſubmitted to the malice of theirs.

Tueſday, *May* 23. a great number of Knights and Gentlemen were again met at *Canterbury*, intending one and the ſame Intereſt, and as Active as Cordiall in the reall advancing the generall buſineſſe, not minding any other intereſt then the publique welfare; concluding with a magnanimous courage, to March with the Petition in one hand, and a Sword in the other: Not, though (as ſome have Maliciouſly (not Conſcientiouſly) given a falſe interpretation to) to force the Higher Powers to what they ſhould fancy, or deſire, (which indeed they might have done, (according to ſo grand examples in that kinde, as have been ſhewed by thoſe too they were to deal with) the

Law

Law now being ſwallowed up into the unlimited arbitration of the power of a, though bloud-drunk, yet bloud-thirſty Sword) but that they might make their way through all obſtructions, and have liberty; maugre all appoſition to preſent their Agrievances (according to the Ancient Cuſtome of this Kingdome) to the Houſes of Parliament, a thing never oppoſed, nor accounted Riotous till this Parliament by their All-powerfull Arbitration voted it ſo. Which being a generall reſolve through the County, all men betook themſelves cheerfully to their Armes; the Inferiour ſort, and Comminalty, ſubmitting themſelves to the Commands of the Superiours; who, as Commiſſioners, acted what by a Generall Councell was thought moſt convenient for the ſecurity of ſo great an Engagement as that was now brought to. And that there might be a clear, and candid ſatisfaction given as well to their friends as enemies throughout the Kingdome for their thus Arming themſelves, cauſed this enſuing Remonſtrance to be Publiſhed. (Having alſo underſtood before of the Bloudy anſwer their neighbours of *Surrey* had to their peaceable and legall Petition; for which unhumane

unhumane maſſacre the Butchering Mirmidons (being fetcht for the ſame purpoſe by ſome of both Houſes) had the thanks of the Houſe.)

BEing reduced to this choice, whether to deliver up our Lives and Liberties together, or die Free: We are reſolved to act the laſt ſcene of this Tragedy with our Swords in our hands, which We ſhall ſooner turn upon our own hearts, than upon the publique Peace. By what neceſſities exaſperated to this reſolve let the world determine, and underſtand, that a Petition to Religion and Honour (if the Parliament may be Judge) is by ſome perſons neither Warranted by any Authority from the two Houſes, nor pretending to it, upon their owne Score have audaciouſly affronted: The Petitioners menaced, and perſecuted into this extremity, by ſpirits ſo implacably diſtempered, that Sir Anthony Welding *vowed he Would not croſſe the ſtreet of* Rocheſter *to ſave one Soul that ſubſcribed to the Petition. And it Was a propoſition of* Beales, *to hang two of the Petitioners of every Pariſh. If this be not enough to admoniſh others, let it ſuffice that it awakens us into a juſt ſenſe and ſcorne of theſe Indignities.*

nities. We have loſt all with patience, and if at laſt it be accounted a crime to Beg, We ſhall prefer to Periſh.

Therefore we doe Solemnly, and Religiouſly, oblige our ſelves, with our lives and fortunes, to oppoſe effectually, what perſon or perſons ſoever ſhall preſume to interrupt us in the juſt and legall preſentation of our humble deſires to the two Houſes of Parliament; and to the utmoſt of our endeavours to ſave harmleſſe, and protect each the other in a Priviledge ſo undoubtedly our own; and ſo not only adjudged, but practiced and encouraged by this preſent Parliament. And further, in caſe any ſingle perſon ſhall be for this Engagement proſecuted, all of us to riſe as one man to the reſcue; this ſo help us God, as We ſhall reſpectively perform, and reſolutely.

Thus gallantly reſolved was the greateſt part of the Gentry in the County, which animoſity encouraged alſo the Comminalty into as great Bravery, and reſolute Boldneſſe. And indeed it was high time, as the ſtate of all the Kingdome then ſtood, in ſo diſmall a cloud of dull and ſordid Slavery: The Tyrants ſwords having ſo long time drunk the Bloud of the Loyal-hearted Gentry of the Kingdome, that now they

they were insensible how they went on, or upon whom they exercised their Cruelty.

This Tuesday, about noone, the Knights and Gentlemen that were intrusted as Commissioners (for that part of the County) at *Canterbury*, gave Commission to Colonell *Robert Hammon* for the beating up his Drums to raise a Regiment of Foot, and Colonell *Hatton* for Listing, and raising a Regiment of Horse. Their Commissions ran thus:

For the more safe and speedy expedition in preferring the generall Petition of this County, We the Gentry now Interested and trusted therein, do nominate and appoint you R.H. *Colonell of one Regiment of Foot, &c.*

Having the day before seiz'd on the Magazine of that part of the County then in that City, being very great both of Armes and Ammunition of all sorts; Colonell *Hammon* immediately beating up his Drums, he had in a short time Listed a considerable number of men, more, I think, than ever were listed by one man in so short a time. Then both Colonell *Hatton* and he had Orders given to Rendezvouz the next day at *Barham-Downe*, where all the Trayned

ned Souldiers of that part of the County were appointed (by warrant from the Commiſſioners) to meet: But this day proved extraordinary wet, which hindred the appearance very much.

However Colonell *Hammon* came with about 300. Foot well Accoutred and Armed; and Colonell *Hatton* with about threeſcore Horſe: a good Collection for ſo ſhort a time as one half day to raiſe them in: But there came not in above 200. Trayned men by reaſon of the illneſſe of the weather. Here met alſo moſt of the Knights, and Deputy Lieutenants then in that part of the County, for now many of the Deputy Lieutenants had joyn'd with the Petitioners, although, I ſuppoſe, out of a Politick conſideration, not a Cordiall affection, as indeed did afterwards appear. There (after ſome conſultations) they tranſacted many buſineſſes for the advancement of the Engagement, uſing their utmoſt endeavours for the raiſing not onely of Men, but Money alſo, for the ſupporting, and encouraging thoſe who were not able to goe through it themſelves, being off from all their Callings and Imployment. Engaging for the conſtant paying both of Souldiers and

and Officers whilſt they ſhould continue in the Countries Services: For the better advancement whereof, every Gentleman, according to his Ability, ſubſcribed to the loan of Moneys, ſome a Hundred pounds, ſome Eighty, ſome Fifty, ſome Forty, ſome more, ſome leſſe; and ſent abroad their Warrants into all parts of the Country for the ſummoning all ſuch men as had, and would engage in that ſervice for the advancing the generall ſafety of the County, and Liberty of the Kingdome. Towards night the Rendezvouze breaking up, Colonell *Hammon*, and Colonell *Hatton* Marched off to quarter towards *Dover*. Then Sir *Richard Hardres*, Sir *Anthony Aucher*, and Maſter *Ant. Hammond*, Juſtices of the Peace, and men as hearty, as reall, and as indulgently Induſtrious in the propagation of the Engagement as men could be. And Mr. *Thomas Peak* with about ſeven ſcore Trained men, being then by reaſon of the wetneſſe of the weather on horſeback as Dragoones, marched towards *Sandwich*, having diſpateht a Meſſenger with a Letter to the Mayor of the Town before to advertiſe him of their comming, and intentions. Where, when they came, they found the Ports all ſhut,

and

and guarded round about the Town; then Maſter *Mat. Carter*, by appointment of the reſt of the Gentlemen marching in the head of the men, gave a ſummons to them; but they at firſt refuſed to open the Gates, till after ſome parley with them an Officer asked him if Sir *Rich. Hardres* were there or not, who was one of the Deputy Lieutenants for the Parliament: who comming to them, and demanding entrance, the Recorder of the Towne came out, and told him that the Mayors orders were, that if he came the Gates ſhould be opened, but not elſe. So immediately they were; and marching quietly in, they drew up in the Market place, and firſt changed all the Guards about the Town before they engaged in any other buſineſſe, it being then almoſt night. Then the Commiſſioners being together, they ſent for the Mayor of the Town, and demanding his ſubſcription to the Petition, gave him orders immediately for the raiſing of Moneys for the forwarding the buſineſſe; but he proved very ſlow in that ſervice, pretending that the Town was very poor, and could by no means raiſe any: The Exciſe officers were alſo called in, but their ſtores proved very poor alſo; inſo-

much that there remained little hopes of any good to proceed from that place.

In the evening came in a Gentleman that had been formerly a Divine, and a Chaplaine at Sea, and a Major in the ſervice of the Parliament, (as it ſeemed by his deportment) very penitent for that he had engaged himſelf in ſo unjuſt a Cauſe, and Horrid Employment; and proffered the beſt, and utmoſt of his ſervice to the furthering the Petition, and the Engagement of the Country if he might be employed in any thing that might give him opportunity. Whereupon, they knowing him to have been at Sea, and well acquainted with the Navie, being both Chaplain there to the Earl of *Warwick*, and Miniſter of *Deal*, thought it could not prove amiſſe to employ him, having ſigned to the Petition before; and ſo had Letters drawn up for him that night, to every Ship one, and in every Letter a Copy of the Petition, making this abſolute reſult, that ſome happy ſucceſſe might follow; however, if it did no good, yet it could no way endamage them; which indeed proved a moſt happy, and fortunate deſigne as all the Kingdome are witneſſes of. The next morning being Thurſday, the Mayor and

Alder-

Aldermen were againe called upon to know what moneys they had raiſed, or would advance to that Service, being ſolely for the Re-enthronement of the King (as they told them) and the ſpeedy redemption of the moſt Turkiſhly enſlaved Subjects of *England* to their true, ancient, and native Liberty: But they were then found as tardy as before, dull, and unwilling to endeavour, pleading the great neceſſity, and inability of the Towne, as nothing touch'd with any conſideration of Loyalty or Conſcience to their impriſoned King, or the bleeding diſtreſſes of their enſlaved Country. Whereupon the Commiſſioners thought it neither ſafe, nor fitting, to intruſt them with a Military Power; but took away the Commiſſions from the Mayor (who was Captaine of a Trayned Company in the Town) and the other Trained Captains, and diſpoſed of the Companies to other Gentlemen in the Town, ſuch as for their Honeſty and Loyalty were thought worthy the truſt; putting to pieces that Commiſſion of the Captaine of the Auxiliary Company, then ſeized on the Magazine of the Towne; and having loaded a Waggon with Powder, Match and Ball, for the preſent oc-

caſion made ready for a March towards *Dover*.

But ere they March'd, the Souldiers being againe drawn up to their Colours in the Market place, the Commiſſioners went together to give a Viſite to a ſtripling Impoſture that lodged (by order of the Mayor, and his wiſe Brethren) at Captain *Forſtalls* houſe, one of the Jurates, who pretended himſelf to be the Prince of *Wales*, and that he was forc'd to fly out of *France*, becauſe the Queen, his Mother, had endeavoured to poyſon him: Which notable phancy he had ſeriouſly inſinuated into the generall opinions both of Towne and Country, by his often aſſeverating it with impudent Oathes, and damnable imprecations: Inſomuch that many Gentlemen and Women came dayly to kiſſe his Hand; and many Preſents he had made him, Rich Cloathes, and Accommodation in every kind provided him by the Mayor and Jurats of the Town, who were ſo ſerious in it, that Sir *Thomas Diſhingto* a Scotiſh man, being upon a Meſſage from the Queen, and Prince, into *England*; and at *Dover*, in his journey back againe, hearing the report ſo generally in the Country of the Princes being

ing at *Sandwich* was much ſtartled at it; and to ſatisfie himſelf went to *Sandwich* to be informed, where he found him indeed a Welch Prince, but not the Prince of *Wales*: and comming to him, after ſome diſcourſe, as asking him who was his Gentlemen Uſher, who his Pages, and other Servants? where the Queen was when he left her, and the like queſtions? he not being well provided with anſwers to either; and thoſe queſtions ſo unexpectedly propoſed to him, could give him no account at all (which was enough to ſatisfie any reaſonable opinions that he was an Impoſtor) whereat Sir *Tho.* being much incenſt, call'd him Villaine, and Counterfeit Rogue; the new-coyn'd Prince immediately ſhewes his power, and Commands the Mayor to clap Sir *Tho.* up in priſon for his Treaſon; The Mayor preſently obeyes his Command, and Sir *Tho.* inſtead of going back to *Dover*, is carryed to priſon, where he lay about two dayes ere he could be ſet at liberty. Maſter *Carter* was alſo the Sunday after Sir *Tho.* was confined to ſee him too, to ſatisfie not only himſelfe, but ſome Deputy Lieutenants in the County whether it were he or not, (comming in ſo ſtrange a manner as on foot, and in an

old black ragged ſute, without any Companions but Lice) being acquainted with ſome of the Jurates, who knew that he could ſatisfie them well too, but would not be convinc'd of their fooliſh confidence, although he not only aſſured them (amongſt the reſt, Captaine *Forſtall*, at whoſe houſe he lay) that he was an Impoſtor, but affronted him upon the beach, before the Mayor and Jurates, who, with a Guard of Muſquetteers were walking there with him. So highly did this young Prince of *Sandwich* bear up his buſineſſe in as high a raunt as can poſſibly be imagined above a week; Trumpets ſounding his Meat to the Table moſt commonly, and, as ſome ſay, moſt nights drunk ere he was acquainted with his Bed.

But the Commiſſioners having had this account, and underſtanding of him, intended to carry him away with them; believing he was ſent (by ſome who have too long enjoyed a power of marring Princes, though not of making any) upon ſome deſigne on the County; and finding the hearts of the people much inclined to him (as believing what he had ſaid to be true) ſpake nothing at all of him over night, nor of their reſolutions, but juſt as they were ready to March,

March, as to give him a civill visit, went to see him, having an empty Coach of Sir *Richard Hardreses*, in which they intended to Invite him to March with them, as to free him from that restraint he had, by a Declaration which he had publisshed, pretended to be in, lest by violently taking him away they might cause a Mutinous Hubbub in the Town and Country: But this would not take, for when they came to the House, this precious Prince, and his confederates, surmising their intentions, as guilty of their reall Knaveries, refused to let them in; Captaine *Forstall* shutting his doores, told them, the Prince had commanded him to keep them out, and he durst not disobey him. This they took as a high indignity and affront; and upon their desires Master *Carter* immediately drew up sixty Musquetteers before the house to force an entrance, the rest of the party loading their Musquets, and lighting their Matches, stood all to their Armes, expecting some suddaine service; for now the whole Town grew into a Mutiny, and Distraction, so that the Commissioners were forc'd to prepare themselves for to fight too, for they did expect it every minute, and commanded

all Houſes, and Shops, to be ſhut up.

Mean time this young Impoſtor raunting in his new inveſted Authority, waves his Hat, and Plume, out at the window, calling out, *Raiſe the Towne, Raiſe the Towne: Seamen, ſtand to me Seamen:* throwing out handfulls of Money into the Streets among the people, which began to ſwarme up and down in throngs and tumults; women weeping for the violence they feared would be done to their Prince, and men ſwearing they would all die rather than ſuffer the Prince to be injured any way, or violently taken away: Almoſt every one either certainly believing him to be really the Prince of *Wales*, or elſe undoubtedly confederates in the ſame deſigne, raiſed ſo high a Tumult as would have ended in much miſchief, had not the Gentlemen beſtirr'd themſelves reſolutely, and undauntedly, in the quelling them.

But whilſt they were thus forcing an entrance into the Houſe, thoſe Confederates who were within, privately conveyed him through the Back-ſide; and ſome Seamen waiting purpoſely at the Water-ſide, tranſported him immediately over into the Iſle of *Thanet*, where a party being ſent after him

him, found him that night at Maſter *Criſpes* houſe at Supper, where he was entertained like him that he pretended himſelf to be: from whence he was conveyed to *Canterbury*, Maſter *Criſpe* being ſo courteous as to lend him his Coach thither alſo, and from thence to *Newgate*. This paſſage being over, he eſcaped for the time; they took Captaine *Forſtall*, and would have carryed him away priſoner for refuſing to let them enter his Houſe; and by that meanes expreſſing his confederacy in the deſigne of that Mock-Prince, and ſo being the cauſe of the Hubbub in the Towne, which was ſo dangerous as might have cauſed much Bloud. But pretended he did really believe him to be the Prince, and he had commanded him to it, and he durſt not diſobey him: Then the Town Clark engaging himſelfe for his appearance when he ſhould be called to anſwer for his default, he was left behind.

Then the Gentlemen leaving ſome of thoſe men they brought with them, and an Officer with them in the Town for the ſecuring of it, and Orders to the new Captaines to call their Companyes to their Armes; they Marched away with the reſt to-

towards *Dover*, where they found Colonell *Hammons* Regiment encreaſed by that time to five hundred, and upwards; and Colonell *Hattons* of Horſe to be about 200. according to their former Orders drawing up to face the Caſtle, with ſome Trained Companies of that part of the County; and many people with Cartes of Scaling-ladders, Spades, Shovels, and Pickaxes, according to the former dayes Warrants.

Here they found the Town in a joyfull poſture to receive them with much alacrity, where Captaine *Bethels* Fort reſigned to them, and all the Towne unanimouſly betook themſelves to their Armes; Trained men (which were two Companies) and others to joyn with them in ſo hopefully-happy a deſigne, as by all appearance that muſt of neceſſity be.

In the afternoon diverſe ſummons were ſent to the Caſtle for Surrender of it to the ſervice of the King and Country, but all denyed. Sir *H.* a grand Independent, and Parliament man being then in it (pretending no power at all there (as by his Letters indeed appeared) yet bearing the only ſway, & commanding all privately) by whoſe command thoſe in the Caſtle had made incurſions upon

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on the Country a night or two before, and drove in many Sheep for to Victuall it; reſolving to make out his own Intereſt, as it ſeemes, under the notion of the Parliaments; for it was without any Commiſſion from them, as if it were an axiome amongſt them, every one to act his phanſie for the propagating the generall Calamity of the Kingdome, no matter at what rate, ſo their intereſt were ſecured: So large an extent hath their arbitrary Prerogative, and unlimitted illegall Juriſdiction, as to abhor, as deſtructive, all conſcience, or thought of affection to their Countryes peace, which eaſily diſcovered it ſelf by the anſwers he made to the Letters and Propoſitions which were ſent into the Caſtle to him from the Commiſſioners: As if that burden of intollerable guilt of innocent bloud, and unparallel'd miſery of this gaſping Nation had over-whelm'd his Conſcience with a cloud of diſpaire of any other ſafety than the old Roman Rule, *Per ſcelera ſemper, ſceleribus tutum eſt Iter*; knowing indeed himſelfe to have been as zealous a promoter, and acceſſory to the generall Calamity as any confederate in the grand Juncto what ever; to whom indeed

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the name of Peace is as odious as the Puniſh-ment they know themſelves guilty of, and if given over to the hand of Juſtice, and the Law of the Kingdome, they muſt unavoidably periſh under. Of which I doubt not, but though their reſolutions be with *Cataline*, yet their end will be as the thirty Tyrants of *Athens*, whoſe proceedings have not much deviated from theirs.

Now they ſent not only ſummons to the Caſtle, but alſo civill Letters to Sir *Hen: H.* to invite him to a compliance, or at leaſt to a ceſſation from his Engagement, with all promiſes of their Engageing for his ſecurity, and ſafety, either for his ſtaying in the County, or paſſing to *London*, or where he pleaſed; But he was farre enough from heatkning any whit to their civill Treaty, and by his meanes and one Lieutenant *Swans*, (who had before betrayed the Princes Commiſſion (after he had engaged his faith for the acting according to it,) and indeavoured the taking away the lives of ſome Gentlemen that himſelfe treated with about it) thoſe in the Caſtle withheld from any rendition though often ſummoned, and the greateſt part as often willing to deliver.

This

This night Major *Keme* that went to the Fleet returned, aſſuring that thoſe Letters he carryed to the Commiſſioners, were not onely received with extraordinary cheerfulneſſe, but anſwered with as induſtriouſly reall action, relating, that the Mariners had no ſooner read them, but immediately declared, one, and all, for the King, the liberty of the Kingdome, and the Engagement of the Gentlemen of *Kent*. Boldly diſputing the buſineſſe upon the deck (though they knew not generally one anothers mindes) with their Armes in their hands; as if being ſurpriſed with ſo happy an opportunity were reſolved to try what party they could make againſt oppoſition; which they found indeed ſo weake as not to engage, much more diſpute, then to give them occaſion to ſeiſe on ſome Officers and a few marriners in their particular Veſſels, who did but timorouſly ſeem to contradict their actions; for oppoſe they durſt not, ſo ſmall was their Party, they were able to make amongſt them, as any elſe whoſe former knowledge made them undeſirous, or unwilling to truſt, who they ſecured immediately upon their buſineſſe in the holds, and round-houſes of the reſpective veſſels.

Upon

Upon this, the ſhouts they made Aboord were ſo loud, that they ecchoed a ſhrill alarum to the eares of Colonell *Rainsborow*, then Vice Admirall, who being a Shore at *Deal* Caſtle, and hearing ſuch acclamations made him haſte from the Leads of the Caſtle (where he ſtood all the while the Commiſſioners and Gentlemen were marching by, waving his Sword over his head in a threatning defyance to them) to goe Aboord, that he might be the more certainly informed of the cauſe of this ſo generall Shout, not being from one, but every Ship then riding at Anchor in the Downs.

But when he came neer, and would have Boorded, the Admirall, he was put off by the Marriners, who told him *he had nothing to doe with them, nor ſhould he.* He demanded their reaſon, and what the matter was, being ſo much amazed at ſo ſuddaine an alteration? they anſwered him immediately, *That they were now upon other deſignes then they knew he would lead them on, or joyne with them in, and had declared themſelves for the King, and the Gentlemen of* Kent. But did confeſſe he had been a loving, and Courteous Colonell to them; and in that reſpect ſhould have no injury offered unto him, nor

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ſhould he ſuffer any the leaſt damage in Perſon or Goods; but what things he had aboord he ſhould have ſafe away when he pleaſed.

Whereat, ſeeing them ſo ſerious, and reſolute, demanded a Pinnace to carry him up to *London*, for he was ſomething timerous, and jealous how to truſt himſelf a Shore, although he had the Command of *Deal* Caſtle within his Commiſſion. But a Coxon ſtepping forth upon the Deck, anſwered him: *Sir, We cannot ſpare you any the leaſt Veſſell in the Downes, they are engaged for better Service; but there is a Dutch Flyboate at ſhore, and for ſix pence you may have a paſſage in her to* London. This much diſtracted him, and augmented an apprehenſion of danger in him; for underſtanding that *Sandown* Caſtle had at the ſame time declared with the Navy for the King and Country: He did not know how to truſt himſelf either at Sea, or aſhore. For he might juſtly fear the ſame in every Caſtle for ought he underſtood of their reſolutions, yet was forc'd to betake himſelf to that *ultimum refugium*; in which manner, with his Wife, Children, Siſters, and the reſt of his Family, which remained before in *Deale* Caſtle, he

wafted it away to give an account of his Honourable eſcape to his great Maſters at *London*: which alteration, with him, was as much beyond all mens expectation as his own.

This welcome Meſſenger having given this fortunate account of his, and the generall good ſucceſſe: he was immediately diſpatched away with Letters of Summons to the other two Caſtles of *Deale* and *Wamer*; having inſtructions alſo, and power to treat with them for Rendition. Which actions, at that time, although they carryed a martiall face with them, to the opinion of our Enemies, yet took forme and life only from prudentiall, and cautious premonition, not military Deſignes, for who could not but think it moſt unſafe to the Country, eſpecially that part of it? and dangerous both to private and publick Intereſt, to leave the ſtrongeſt holds of thoſe parts? in the Rear of them poſſeſſed by a violent and bloudy Enemy to make Encurſions, and Inrodes upon them, when they ſhould pleaſe, the greateſt ſtrength of the County being to March away with the Petition; of which, thoſe in *Dover* Caſtle, by Command of Sir *H. H.* had given us a taſte, as a faire warning, ſome two or three nights before,

before; having ſent out a party, and plundred the Country, taking (or rather robbing) from one man at leaſt a hundred Sheep, and many more from others, that they had intelligence to have been intereſted in the Petition. Yet in all theſe actions of poſſeſſing the Fleet and Townes, was there ſo orderly a comportment, that not the leaſt prejudice accrued thereby, either to the Life, Perſon, Eſtates, or Goods of any man.

Then were Letters ſent into *France*, and *Holland*, with Engagement of the Gentry and Merchants, for the bringing over ten thouſand Armes, and a great proportion of Amunition of all ſorts; as Letters alſo to the Prince to give him an account of all proceedings and intents of the engagers; altogether as honeſt, as reſolute, and as yet (by Gods providence) ſo proſperous, that fortunes gates ſeeme to be wide ſet open to their ſo Honourable reſolutions: being nothing intended, or inclinable to the raiſing of any offenſive Warre, but the purchaſing (though at the hazard of all our Lives and Fortunes) of a happy and laſting peace; and that not particular to our ſelves, but generall, to the Sion of our Church and Com-

mon-wealth; for which all men, I think, ought both to pray, and fight, if rightly, and Loyally called to it.

And now having thus far proceeded, and with ſo auſpicious ſucceſſe, they went on, and proſecuted their buſineſſe with much expedition, alacrity, and courage: know that time admits not any delayes where danger always is knocking at the door; and ſloth and neglect in deſperate and difficult enterprizes, are advancements onely to ruine and deſtruction; but in extremities the winning of time is the purchaſe both of life, and Honourable ſucceſſe.

Wherefore the next morning they marched back from thence towards *Deal* Caſtle, leaving in *Dover*, and before the Caſtle, the Trayned Bands of the Towne, and three other Companies of that part of the Country that were not yet compleatly come up. And M. *Arnold Brumes*, and one or two more Juſtices of Peace more, being Commiſſioners for the Country, to ſteer at the *Helme*, leſt for want of good Pilots the buſineſſe ſhould ſuffer wrack; who the next morning drew up the great pieces that were planted on the Bench, and mounted them on the moſt advantagious ground on the

hill

hill neer the Caſtle, which they did without any more loſſe than of one man, although the Caſtle played both ſmall and great Shot very thick upon them; and having boldly planted them (where, I believe, never any Cannon were ever known to be placed, it being a moſt extraordinary hill) very neer the Caſtle; they played very hot upon it, and battered the walls very much, being old; ſuppoſing, that ſeeing this violent proſecution, they would have yeelded it up, but all to no purpoſe, and Storme it they could not.

The Commiſſioners, with the reſt of the Gentlemen, (which were a handſome Company) marched on towards *Deal*, carrying with them Colonell *Hammons* Regiment, being by this time compleated to a thouſand, well Armed, and as perfectly reſolv'd, with Colours Flying, of white anſwerable to the candid innocence of a peace-making Egagement; and Col. *Hattons* Horſe, with ſome Dragooners: The Gentlemen being about forty, were orderly drawn up into a Troop, and marching thus all the way upon the Downes, gave a very handſome appearance both to the Country on the one ſide, and the Ships then riding at Anchor in the

Downes on the other, which gave encouragement to both, and a disheartning also to the Castles, then upon treaty for Rendition.

Then the Castles discovering so orderly a Body of men advancing towards them, sent to the Commissioners to desire that they would not advance any neerer to them till they had concluded their Conditions, being on Treaty about them, the Articles being drawing up. Whereupon a halt was made, and a Rendezvouz, the party being drawn up, and planted an orderly Front towards the Castles.

The Knights and Gentlemen then leaving them at the Rendezvouz, rid away to *Deal* Towne; where the first (as indeed most requisite) thing they did, was the taking care for sending provision to that small Army they left in the Field; and afterwards went aboord the Ships to take possession of them, and to place such Officers as they thought fit to entrust with their Command. Where they were received with great acclamations and expressions of Joy.

There one might have read in every mans face a perfection of cheerfulnesse, as having been

been a long time like ſlaves Gally-chain'd to a more than Turkiſhly condemnation, and now happily ſet free into the glorious liberty of Loyall obedience; wherein they expreſſed themſelves ſo highly devoted to the ſervice of the King and Country, as that they would not only be Commanded by Sea, but deſired they might have firſt admittance to be liſted Aſhore; but that would not be granted them by the Commiſſioners, for they ſhould thereby have diſfurniſh'd the Ships, and did not perceive they ſhould have any need of them for Land ſervice; for now they thought, that although they expected nothing leſſe then an affront, and oppoſition ere they ſhould have performed what they had undertaken concerning their Petition; yet they ſuppoſed the County would ſo unanimouſly joyne, as there ſhould be little want of number, able to force through all obſtruction whatſoever: Foot comming in at that time alſo very faſt from all parts, and this happy ſucceſſe, and gallant deportment of the Gentry being ſo high an incouragement to call them to their aid, gave new life and courage to the Commonalty, and made them content to leave all rurall occaſions to joyne in that ſo Chri-

ſtian-like, and Loyall deſigne. Although there were yet too many that lay lurking in their dunghill dens ſuttlely, to joyne with any Enemy that ſhould endeavour to make a prey of them, and help forward (upon any opportunity) ſo deſperate a ruine, as they cared not though it turned to a generall diſſolution to the whole Kingdome, and a moſt wretched and untimely fall to their too indulgent, gloriouſly virtuous, and unparallel'd patient Soveraigne; ſo their owne Factious Intereſt might recover to their wiſhed (but ignorantly propoſed) end.

A neſt of other Cockatrices lay brooding alſo as idlely in the very heart of the County, nay, too many all over, whoſe dirty Souls were ſo ſettled on the lees and puddle of worldly intereſt, as depreſſed them down to ſo ignoble and cold a diſpoſition, that would not ſuffer them to look up to Loyall obedience, nor permit their capacities to climb ſo high as a knowledge of that duty they owed to their King and Country, though their owne Intereſt was as much included as anies that was the moſt active, every man being alike concerned in a generall peace; and, I think, according to his quality and condition ought to endeavour

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as induſtriouſly for its advancement, many of them, knowing as much too, yet ſo wretchedly worldly as to prefer the enjoyment of their Eſtates, though like Jewes, under the worſt of bondage, than like Chriſtians to hazard (the impairing them onely) for the ſetled and aſſured enjoyment of them in the happieſt liberty the Golden Age of a Juſt and Religious peace would give them in the future.

There were ſome Deputy Lieutenants alſo came in, (for their ſecurity more than their Conſcience ſakes, which they ſlubber'd o're with a counterfeit diſguiſe of diſſimulation to purchaſe a better welcome) whom I could name too, but ſhall forbear; the comming in, and entring the Liſts, with theſe Loyall Engagers, after they had ſigned not onely to the Petition, but Warrants, and Commiſſions too, made a faire retreat, and bidding adieu to the danger of proving Loyall Subjects, ſlipt their engaged Coller, and ſtole away to *London*, and may chance deſerve a Halter for it hereafter, as well as the reſt of the greateſt Oppoſers: But, I ſuppoſe, ere this, though not in reſpect of their fortunes, (for which they may rejoyce) yet in reſpect of the better wealth of

their Soules they may have undergone so much of repentance, as may purchase a pardon from Heaven, which my charity makes me hope rather, than wish the contrary: and they are sensible enough they have a Soveraigne to deal with, so farre inheritor of his Fathers Virtues as well as Honours and Prerogative, as by his excesse of mercy to mittigate the rigour of Treason and Law against them.

But to return to our new Sea-Royalists, who now not onely thought, but expres'd also the great happinesse of their chang'd condition; saying cheerfully, many of them, *They onely now lived, and had a long time, as it were, laine amazed 'twixt life and death, and desired rather to die in the service of their King, then to live againe in that of the Parliament.*

All which the Commissioners were much joyed to see, and encouraged them on in their gallant Loyalty, giving amongst them in every Ship, a summe of mony to drink, which they as gratefully received; and at their putting off to shore, gave them from every Vessell many great Shot, answered with as many Shouts, and Acclamations. But many of the Marriners were so eager in pro-

profecuting this new engaged Loyalty, that the greateſt difficulty in the ordering them, proved in the keeping them Aboord, being almoſt Mutinous to come aſhore to liſt themſelves for Land ſervice, as believing they ſhould not finde any oppoſition at Sea; or if, yet not time enough for them to expreſſe in their actions what they had already done in their words, and as abſolutely reſolved in their hearts, as it was the expreſſion of many of them.

Which, to make up the more compleat, they afterwards, of themſelves, ſent away a Meſſenger to the Commiſſioners of the Navy with this Declaration following.

The

The Declaration of the Navy, in a Letter to the Commissioners at London.

Worshipfull,

These are to certifie you that we the Commanders, and Officers of the Ship called the Constant Reformation, *with the rest of the Fleet, have secured the Ships for the service of the King and Parliament; and We have refused to be under the Command of Colonell* Rainsborow, *by reason we conceive him to be a man not well-affected to the King, Parliament, and Kingdome: And We doe hereby declare unto you, That We have unanimously joyned with the* Kentish *Gentlemen in their just Petition to the Parliament, to this purpose following,* viz.

First, that the Kings Majesty may be with all expedition admitted in safety, honour, and freedome to Treat with his two Houses of Parliament

Secondly, That the Army now under the Command of the Lord Fairfax, *their Arreares being paid them, be forthwith Disbanded.*

Thirdly,

Thirdly, That the knowne Lawes of the Kingdome may be re-eſtabliſhed and continued, whereby We ought to be Governed and Judged.

Fourthly, That the Priviledges of Parliament, and the Liberty of the Subjects may be preſerved.

And to this end and purpoſe We have ſent our loving friend Captain Penroſe *with a Letter to the Earl of* Warwick; *and We are reſolved to take in no Commander whatſoever, but ſuch as ſhall reſolve to live and die with us, in the behalf of the Kingdome, and Paliament, which is the poſitive reſult of us: And*

We humbly deſire your ſpeedy Anſwer.

Officers of the Conſtant Reformation.

Thomas Liſle *Lieutenant.* } { James Allen *Gunner.*
And: Michell *Boatſwain.* } { Tho: Beſt *Carpenter.*

Officers of the Swallow.

Leonard Harris *Captaine.* } { Nic: Lawrance *Lieutenant.*
Joh: London *Maſter.* } { Andrew Jackſon *Gunner.*
{ John Short *Carpenter.*

Signed alſo by the Captain of the Roe-Buck, Hynde, *and ſeverall other Officers of theſe, and other Ships.*

This

This day about night the Articles for the Caſtles of *Deale*, and *Walmer* were ſigned, and the one delivered before, the other after the Commiſſioners marched away. Their conditions upon ſurrender were to march away with their baggage, leaving their Arms and Ammunition behind them entirely, without any imbezelment or diminution.

The Rendevouze being broke up, they marched away and quartered in *Sandwich* againe that night, leaving in *Deale Anthony Hamond*, Eſq. and Cap. *Bargrave*, who had been formerly an Officer of the Navie; (both Juſtices of Peace, and gallant diſcreet men, (not according to thoſe of this wiſe reformation) as Commiſſioners for the managing of the buſineſſe there, and in the Fleet; having ſent away for Sir *John Mince*, Capt. *Fogg* and ſome others, Officers that had formerly been employed at Sea by the King, and for their Loyalties diſplaced by the Parliament, who were alſo earneſtly deſired by the Officers and marriners aboarde.

When they came to *Sandwich* having beene ſo proſperous in all theſe undertakings, and done ſo much in ſo little time as indeed

indeed amazed the whole Country. The Mayor and his brethren began to comply, and received them with farre more cheerfulneſſe then before they had done; and that night made them a preſent of two hundred pounds to the advancement of the Deſigne, who before were ſo needy they knew not how to ſubſiſt amongſt themſelves, much leſſe to raiſe any ſumme of money for extraordinary ſervice.

The next morning they haſted their march from thence to *Canterbury*, leaving alſo behind them two or three Commiſſioners, and five trained companies, for the better ſecuring that Town, being a place very factious and apt to take the opportunity of the weakneſſe of the Country, to make a mutinous oppoſition in caſe of a retreate.

That night being Sunday night, they quartered in *Canterbury*, not ſlipping any opportunity or minute of time, without an improvement of it to the beſt advantage, and acting ſomething to the furtherance of that Engagement; the next day being the appointed limitation for their meeting at *Rocheſter*. Here there came in many Gentlemen and others to Joyn with them that were not at all Engaged before, unleſſe againſt

againſt us; amongſt the reſt, Sir *John Roberts*, and one or two Deputy Lieutenants more who Signed to the Petition, and Subſcribed to the Loane of Money, although they had before engaged themſelves with the reſt of the Committee againſt the Petition; But rather like Phyſitians, that out of a private intereſt, are nimble to aſſiſt and pleaſure others to profit themſelves, than out of any cordiall affection to ſo juſt, and honeſt an enterprize.

The *Dutchmen* of the City (which indeed are very numerous) engaged themſelves for the raiſing and paying of two Companies; here alſo Colonell *Hammon* compleated his Regiment, many more men comming in to him, and others that he had raiſed in the City, and neere about fitted themſelves for a farther March.

In this City and Suburbs were three Trained Compaines which were all drawn up to Armes; which, that they might ſecure the place (with the two *Dutch* Companies then a raiſing) they left behind ſome Knights and Gentlemen to manage the Affaires in that part of the County were left there, leſt ſome inſurrection might happen by the obſtructers of the deſigne, who ſwarmed

med about that place; and by ſurprizing it, not onely doe much miſchief in the Rear of the Body, but in caſe ſo much misfortune ſhould befall them, as to force them to a Retreat, (which caution is no whit too ſoon remembred in the ſtrongeſt, or more proſperous Armies at any time) and which indeed moſt unfortunately fell out to them at the laſt.

In this time the noble Peer, the Earl of *Tha.* acted his moſt Heroick gallantry about *Aſhford*, *Hotfield*, and *Charing*, being indeed the firſt that roſe, and drew that part of the Country to a reſolution of betaking themſelves to their Armes, by ſending his Letters to all Gentlemen he knew had any power, and ſecured above a thouſand men in that part to riſe in a ſhort time; and at the firſt of any riſing at all in the County, giving an account of it alſo to Squire *Hales*, encouraging him thereto, who farre more gallantly proceeded than ever he began.

So now, when he had made a fair and hopefull beginning, and had aſſured very large aſſiſtance from his purſe, makes a ſlovenly exit from this ſcene of Honour, and obſcures himſelfe behinde the hanging of Apoſtatiſme. In ſo much that when he was

ſought

ſought for by his neighbouring Gentlemen, whom he had incited by his forwardneſſe, and invited by perſwaſions, the Noble Earle was fled, (not for Religion, nor I thinke to any) to take councell of his peere the Earle of *Pembroke*; whom (after ſome grave and wiſe conſultation had) he Engaged ſo farre as to goe with him to *Derby*-houſe, there to plead with the quinteſſence of his oratory for forgiveneſſe, promiſing if he might but ſcape a whipping, then never to doe ſo againe, Which he did.

Where the gallant and doubty Earle (after a pauſe for recovery of breath) made what diſcovery the whole action was lyable to, and his capacity could reach; Making alſo ſeverall propoſitions to the Committee, which he aſſured them was the only way to remove thoſe diſtempers; declaring, that he had heard ſuch things from divers Gentlemen in the Engagement that gave aſſurance to his hopes.

The Committee thereupon began to be a little enclinable unto his diſcourſe, and gave as much credit to it, having his Friend, and Couzen *P:* to ſweare for him; and thereupon reſolved upon ſome Inſtructions to be given him as concerning indemnity upon

upon a disbanding, and submission again to the Yoak, and the like: Which being rereported to the House, were resolved on; and he on the thursday morning dispatcht away with them.

Who immediately posts home, and with his greatest power endeavours the disbanding of the Commonalty; beginning first with the discouraging the Gentry, who being once down, the other must necessarily fall; and indeed proceeded so farre in it, that caused diverse Gentlemen, as well as Commoners, to desert the businesse; but the generality being constant, and their Consciences linck'd to the service, by the golden chain of Religion, and Loyalty, were not to be disheartned; insomuch, that I think, those stratagems, as the other endeavoured for suppression, gave a more couragious life to their actions, and converted that pestiferous obstruction to a cordiall advancement.

The Gentlemen and Commoners being not onely sensible of this his baseneſſe, but also insens'd at it, gave the noble Earl this satisfaction to that designe of his (or rather treachery) as it were a pill for to purge his Apostatisme (better physick I confesse

might have been administred, and more proper) remitted him up to the Committee with this Letter.

To the Right Honourable the Committee of Lords and Commons at *Darby* House.

My Lo:

WE have seene the Instructions from your Lordships, to the Right Hourable the Earl of Thanet, *upon consideration whereof we have thought fit to return this answer to Your Lordships.*

That we have cause to believe there are many persons about your Lordships, who endeavour to infuse into you very siniſter opinions of our proceedings, in relation to the safety of this County at this time: Who when We shall be admitted to a fair and equall hearing, will appear to be the greateſt disturbers thereof themselves: And that our intentions are free from all other ends than naturall defence, We humbly beseech your Lordships to understand, that We are in firme resolution to observe the Declaration of the Houses; and for the manner

of

of preſenting our Petitions and Complaints will follow the directions in the ſaid Declaration. But ſaving to our ſelves alwayes the liberty of preſerving the moſt Ancient and inviolate Freedomes of this County; we muſt deſire your Lordſhips to put a faire interpretation upon our purpoſes of continuing within the ſafeguard of our Armes, till we have aſſurance from your Lordſhips that the Clamours of thoſe above againſt us, have had no ſucceſſe in their enraged deſignes of enguging againſt this County in bloud and ruine when they finde never ſo ſmall a diminution of their Arbitrary Power, ſo long exerciſed over us, endeavoured to be taken from them; not doubting but upon the preſentation and faire reception of our Petition, and juſt Complaints, the Houſes will give ſuch ſeaſonable relief therein, as will abundantly diſcover the inclination of this County to Peace and Amity.

My Lords, this is the account we can give you of this County by the hands of the noble Lord, the Earl of Thanet, *whom alſo we have deſired to informe your Lordſhips further: That our preſent poſture tends not to offer violence to the Parliament, nor ſuffer acts willingly unbeſeeming our faire intentions; but doe, and ſhall take ſtrict care to repreſſe whereſo-*

ever we finde it, the incenſed ſpirit we ſee in the people : Which, how it hath been raiſed, We ſhall in due time be able to make appear. And ſo we reſt

My Lords,
Your Lordſhips moſt humble Servants.

Tho: Peyton.	*Edw: Whitton.*
John Darell.	*Will: Hugeſſon.*
Tho: Palmer.	*Rich: Lee* Jun.
James Hales.	*James Darell.*
Tho: Hardres.	*R: Wilkinſon.*
Tho: Godfrey.	*Edw: Roberts.*
Geo: Newman.	*Phillip Ward*
Ja: Newman.	Mayor of *Re-*
Tho: Courtop.	*cheſter.*

Thus did this Jewiſh Apoſtat Lord fall ſhort of his intended Treachery to his Lord and Maſter the KING, and diſloyally to his Country : And his ſuppoſed Glorious deſigne extinguiſh'd in a ſtink, ſo great, I fear, as will remain freſh in the noſtrils of Fame, and render him odious to his Country to all Poſterity ; how he ſavoured in the apprehenſions of the Committee I know not. Yet he hath obtained thus much reward, he

hath

hath gotten a fame by it, which he may if he pleaſe boaſt of; that in it he ſhall live after death; But it is no better then that of *Eroſtratus*, who wilfully ſet fire to the Temple, that he might get to himſelfe a fame when he was dead. Which will be as due a recompence as ſo unhandſome and unnaturall Apoſtatiſme can deſerve.

But now on the contrary our Reſolute Engagers reſolving to regard no obſtructions what ever, any further then to kick it out of the way; and the time drawing neer to the limitation of the Poſtſcript, thoſe from *Canterbury* haſted their march on the munday morning towards *Rocheſter* both Horſe and Foot: But the march was too tedious, and the men not able to perform it, that day being the time of meeting, and to march away again the next morning towards *Black-heath*; Wherefore the Foot marched no farther then *Sittingborne*, where they quartered that night, intending to march on the next morning. But the Commiſſioners and the reſt of the Gentlemen, with Col. *Hattons* Horſe marched on that night to *Rocheſter*, ordering their march to a very military conformity.

At *Rocheſter* they met with the Gentry

of the County from all Quarters, in a very great number, as at a generall Rendevouze: But the maine body of thoſe men they had drawn together, (or rather who had drawn themſelves together) for they came in with a voluntary cheerfulneſſe, and as cheerfull a reſolution) lay in, and about *Dartford*, as being an advance twenty miles forwards of their next dayes march to the appointed Rendevouze.

That night came one or two Gentlemen out of *Eſſex*, To treat with the Commiſſioners at *Rocheſter* (being then generally met from all parts of the County) about the aſſociation of both Counties in that generall Engagement, aſſuring that the whole County of *Eſſex* would unanimouſly riſe to joyne with them, and deſired a meeting of a reſected party of the *Kentiſh* Gentlemen, to joyne in a parley ſome where over the Water, with ſome that ſhould be ſelected in *Eſſex* for that purpoſe, but we being then ſo neer the period of that time, wherein by our generall Engagement we had bound the whole Country to meet, and to march towards *London*, could not Joyne in any ſuch thing; but took the promiſe of thoſe Gentlemen as an aſſurance, that the

County

County of *Eſſex* would unanimonſly Concurre to riſe at the ſame time to joyne with us in the maine Intereſt; Others came alſo from *Surrey* to treat on the ſame termes, promiſing as great a readineſſe of that County to joyne in that aſſociation which was received with a great deale of alacrity.

But about midnight the ſame night (they being to march onwards the next morning) came down a poſt with an order from the Houſe of Commons to *Rocheſter*, to the Commiſſioners joyned in that Engagement to this purpoſe; that, whereas they did underſtand that the people of *Kent* were comming up to *Weſtminſter* in a tumultuous, and pretended petitionary way, they knew not the Intentions of it, and had therefore referred them to treat with the Generall the Lord *Fairfax*, and the Committee of *Derby*-houſe.

This rigorous order of prevention being received and read, In the morning the Generall councell being met, the buſineſſe was ſcand and diſcuſt; for now this graine of paper had quite turned the Ballance, and abſolutely altered the conſtitution of the Generall Intereſt; for they could not but believe that the Army would advance en-

tirely againſt them, knowing well enough (conſidering the poſture the Country was in) what it would be to treat with a conquering and potent adverſary, in that inexperienced condition, I meane of a new rais'd and unmodelled body of raw men.

Whereupon by a generall reſult, orders were immediately diſpatched away to *Dartford*; and the other places adjacent, where the maine Body then quartered and lay upon Guard, to march then back to *Rocheſter*; having alſo intelligence within a very ſhort time that the Lord *Fairfax* with his maine Body was advanceing towards us already: But however upon their retreate left a Guard at a place called *Stone* bridge neer *Graveſend* to ſecure that paſſe, but they could not long hold it, the enemy (for ſo we might eaſily gueſſe them to be by this time, by the ceizing all Gentlemen and others they met) comming up ſo cloſe, although, to ſay truth, a better order might have been obſerved in it; and indeed would, had the Party been a formidable Body.

When they came back to *Rocheſter*, Maſter Mat: *Carter* having received Commiſſion of Quarter-maſter Generall of all the

the forces then raiſed, or to be raiſed in that County, from the Commiſſioners and Gentlemen engaged, received Orders from the Councell for the Quartering them there. Whereupon he firſt cauſed them to be drawn up by diſtinct Regiments in ſeverall Fields; whereby he was able to take an exact account of the ſtrength of every Regiment, ſo to know how to diſpoſe of them, and aſcertaine the Councell of the full number in groſſe; which then he Muſtred in rank and file compleatly arm'd, ſeven thouſand of the Infantry, and as well accoutred, being moſt of them very ſufficient men of ability, and not wanting of as Honourable reſolutions. The Horſe not being drawn together, but abroad, the moſt of them upon ſeverall parties, could not be ſo well taken notice of. At which time alſo there were at ſeverall places of the Country about three thouſand more which never came up to this party, as at *Canterbury*, *Maidſtone*, *Sittingborne*, *Sandwich* and *Dover*. This gallant Body by his care were equally divided into Quarters in *Rocheſter*, *Strood*, and *Chatham*, the Horſe in Villages neer adjacent. And the Engagers now began to cling more cloſely, and taking time by the

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fore-locke, thought it not good to let ſlip any minute, leſt their hopes and ſecurity might be loſt with it; and began more ſeriouſly to conſider what might moſt probably advance their ſafety and honour, knowing that what they were now to truſt too was difficult ſeverity of Fortune, the Army being like enough to fall in ſuddainly upon them.

Amongſt many conſiderations, at laſt they eaſily concluded, that the next buſineſſe that muſt be endeavoured, muſt be to mould that party into a formidable Army, and to appoint one particular man to Command in Chief. For now they were forc'd to ſtand upon their own guard, to maintain that with the Sword which was intended onely in a juſt and peaceable way, according to the Ancient Cuſtomes of this Kingdome. But this is a new liberty of the Subject, none of the old I am ſure: A ſad world when men ſhall fall deeper into the pit of Deſtruction, by the endeavours of thoſe they ſupplicate for aid to bring them out; and who, by naturall, as well as legall alliance, and intereſt, are bound to aſſiſt, and by themſelves placed for it. If this be to Reforme, Heavens bleſſe all good Chriſti-

ans,

ans, and Loyall Subjects from Reformation. Having now thus reſolved, they appointed a Rendezvouz the next day at *Barham* Downe, ſome three miles diſtant from thence towards *Maidſtone:* Where the Lord *Norwich* was proclaimed Generall in the head of the Army, (for now being drawn together, they deſerved that Title) ſo gallant a Body they were of Infantry, who received him with as much cheerfulneſſe; expreſſing an unparallel'd willingneſſe to ſerve their King, and as much joy that they were ſo engaged to it, knowing that their ſervice was not onely for Him, but the whole Kingdomes peace, the recovering of their Countries Liberty, and the Churches tranquility. As it hath been a generall, and as true an Obſervation in all Ages and Common-wealths, that thoſe that engage in other mens quarrels are more remiſſe, and unſpirited, as knowing that they ſhall partake in the danger, but not in the victory, ſince another would receive the greateſt and faireſt fruit thereof, and arrogate the Honour likewiſe to themſelves: whereas they alſo that take Armes for their Country, may conceive better hopes that God will proſper them, for that they ſeek not

not to take from others, but to keep their own; and that they fight not for other mens phancies, but their owne defence, whereby the whole benefit of victory will redound to themselves.

This Rendezvouz being broke up, the Army Marched again into Quarters, though not the same as before, neither by the Quarter-master Generals laying out; much, I confesse, contrary to the Lord Generalls sense or intentions, whose advice it was that it would have bëen most convenient to lodg them close together, or in the Field, it being very faire weather at that time. Although I have been informed there are some, who have broach'd a most damnable Aspersion on the Earl of *Norwich*; throwing this dirty and odious Calumny in the face of his innocent and unspotted Fame: *That he was the man who betrayed that service to its succeeding destruction; and that he made it his designe to take that Command upon him, that he might the more easily effect that designe, being himself no Souldier.*

And so impudently, or else ignorantly, they proceeded in this Ignoble derogation, as to raise a confirmation of it from this conclusion: That had it not been so, he had

as

as well paid the losse of life for his Loyall service, as the Lord *Capell*, and the Earl of *Holland*, *&c.*

First, that his owne designe steered him to that Intereſt, is so palpably false, that it was as absolute an accident as could be, that brought him to *Rochester*, (as at the first of his comming, and at his being in *Colchester* I have heard him relate my selfe) being in his Journey to *Sussex*, and taking that road to scape the Army, who then lay very thick in the other, and who knows not how dangerous it is to travaile amongst them. Where when he came, and the Commissioners (Just then upon the dispute, whom to invest with that command) hearing of his arivall, Immediatly selected peculiar Gentlemen to make a civill addresse unto him, with the tender of that Command, and their serious obedience and service with it, as being a Peer of the Realm, and a man of so known a worth, and a mind so deep and able, as to capacitate him for any great command. Whereby he might easily end that strife which so sodainly might have been blown up to a destructive flame, being already kindled by those more then sparks of Emulation, in the breast of some Gentlemen then

then Interested; Having before with much earnestnesse solicited the Duke of *Richmond*, to that no whit dishonourable (though it might be feared unbeneficiall) Engagement. But his feares turning Prophets, dictated to his Soul more powerfull arguments for easie denyalls.

To which the Earle of *Norwich* returned this most courteous answer, (with as modest an excuse from undertaking so high a concernment in a Country where he had so little engagement) That he was confident the Duke would yet Engage with his Country, being so generally, unanimously, and courageously met, and upon so just, unquestionable, and candid a designe, and that he believed he would undertake the command. For the further advancing whereof, proffered himselfe a solicitor for them to the Duke; which favour they accepted gratefully, and he as willingly performed.

And going to *Cobham* to him with his best rethorick, and powerfull perswasions, Invited, and courted him to it; But all to no effect. Whereupon the Commissioners at his returne still intreating him, and as it were pleading a necessity of it to him, he at the last accepted of it, to the great content,

tent and ſatisfaction of all the Gentry, and Commonality too, then met together.

But (as I have heard him declare ſince) onely that the Army might be modelled, whereby it might be a greater invitation to the Duke; Not that he intended afterwards to diſſert the ſervice, but continue it, only with an acknowledgment of ſuperiority in the Duke, for the better encouragement of the Army; who muſt of neceſſity receive ſo much the more of a vigorous courage, by how much the more nobility, and Generous honour, is Engaged in their Conduct.

Yet all perſwaſions proved alike in effect; By which meanes he became totally Engaged. Which I thinke (though he were no Soldier) was then as advantageous (if heaven had deſigned it fortunate) as could be then expected.

For through the whole courſe of the ſucceeding ſervice, upon any nicety, he did moſt prudently declare himſelf, and after his owne opinion layd downe, gave it a reference to a Councell of Warre, for a more mature and generall reſult: Appearing in his conſtant actions more a Soldier then ſome of no ſmall name and undertaking,

who

who have ſo boldly adventured to traduce his Loyalty and Honour. More confutations, I neither need, nor ſhall deſire to give.

Now this night the Army, (by perſwaſion of ſome at the Councell held in the field (as being indeed more generous ſpirited Gentlemen then experienced Politicians, or Soldiers) was quartered at large in the Country, the Generall and Comiſſioners returned back to *Rocheſter*, where Sir Anthony *Ancher*, and Maſter *Hales* left them; not as ſome falſely ſurmiſe, and give out, becauſe they heard of the Enemies advancing; nor through any diſcontent as others as Idly report; But upon this account, Maſter *Hales* being of a more noble and virtuous gallantry, then his yeares might ſpeak him to be, living within fifteen miles of *Rocheſter*, had upon his firſt Engagement, (as his expreſſion to my hearing) made a reſolution not to ſee home till he had ſeene the Army in a formidable poſture; according to which reſolution he had not, but conſtantly continued with them till this night, and now having ſeen the Army in ſuch a modell as that daies Redevouze and the appointment of a Generall rendered it:

tooke

took it for an absolute solution of his Engagement, and resolved that night to goe home onely to accomodate himself the better with Mony, and other necessaries for a longer March, and to return the next morning; so took his leave of the Generall, the Commissioners, and the rest of the Gentlemen, and rid to his House; and Sir *Anthony Aucher*, by his earnest entreaty, went along with him, but the misfortunes of the succeeding night obstructed their return.

For in the night the Lord *Fairfax*, with his whole Body, marching downe towards *Maidstone*, and finding the River slightly Guarded, about *Farley* Bridge beyond the Town some two miles, easily got over; and with a strong party fell upon the Towne, ere those within it were almost Alarumed; in which Town lay part of Sir *John Maynies*, and Sir *Will: Brockmans* Regiments enquartered, that never came to the Rendezvouz, consisting of about eight hundred men.

The Enemy being possessed of that passe, Marched over with their whole Body, they in the Towne not having any true Intelligence all the day before of them, or their motion, and fell in upon their Out-guards so violently, that within a very short space

thoſe in the Town were forced to fight upon extraordinary diſadvantages; the Enemy ſo farre exceeding them in number, and the Army quartered at ſuch a diſtance, they could never make a Retreat, nor have any Relief time enough to aſſiſt them. However, their Courage was ſuch, as made their Enemies know they fought with men ſo well ſatisfied in the juſtice of their Cauſe, as not to be daunted, or ſtartled at the appearance, or apprehenſion of Death, though in never ſo grim a ſhape; but rather like true-borne Heroes contemning all danger, and death it ſelf, ſo they might but bury their misfortunes in the wounds of their furious oppoſing, and oppreſſing Enemies; who thinking them no other then a number of men hudled together in a tumultuous manner, becauſe of their being ſo ſuddainly gotten together, the whole Body being raiſed within ten dayes; fell on them with ſo much violence, as if they had been Lyons, and would have devoured them at an inſtant; or like a boyſterous whirlwind ſcattered them before them like duſt: But much contrary to their expectations, inſtead of finding a prey, they met with thoſe that were more likely to make a prey of them, whoſe

whoſe bold reſolutions ſoone daunted their fury. And theſe Tumultuous diſorderly fellowes, as they termed them, they found orderly enough to oppoſe them; and although newly raiſed, yet of courages of the oldeſt Souldiers, ſelling their Lives and Liberties at as dear a rate as ever men did; few of them falling without firſt diſpatching twice as many I am confident, (and their ſurvivers muſt confeſſe it) to receive their reward of their Grand Lord and Maſter, who, I believe, hath ere this paid them their Arreares in the other world for their good ſervice in this.

This ſervice, (though unexpected) grew very ſmart, and hot, both parties contending which ſhould expreſſe more Valour; the one defending their Lives, diſputing their Fortifications, which were but bare, and thin Hedges, with as little thought of danger, or ſecurity, as if this had been in an impregnable Fort.

The Foe behaving themſelves as gallantly as if they did not think of ſuch a thing as a poſſibility of being beaten. Yet this over-powred party ſo bravely defended their ground, that ere long them had beaten they off, in ſuch manner that the Lord

Fairfax finding his party in ſuch diſorder, even upon a Retreat, alighted from his Horſe, and came on himſelfe with them to encourage them on, who were ſo daunted by the unexpected courage of theſe defendants, that their diſorder was like enough to have much endangered their whole Body.

But at the laſt, freſh men ſtill powring their ſhot in upon them, they were beaten off from their Hedges, and forc'd to diſpute the loſſe of their ground from place to place, againſt an extraordinary diſadvantage, the Enemies Horſe now breaking in upon them on all parts, and ſhewing but little remiſſeneſſe in their execution, when they had an opportunity to make any home Charge upon them; yet they left not their Courage with their ground, but ſtill diſputed the loſſe of every foot with as clear a Courage as if but ſtill beginning to engage; from Street to Street, and from Porch to Porch, often falling upon the Enemies Horſe with onely their Swords; in ſuch a generous manner, as they ſeemed as prodigall of their Bloods, as they were of their Blowes, which they diſtributed in a plentifull manner on every one durſt ſtand

to

to receive them; insomuch, that they put them to as often Retreats, by their so handsome and bold Encounters; but being still over-powred by the numerous reserves that continually advanced on them, were enforced still to Retreat, till at the last they came to the Church-yard, and from thence to the Church, quitting not any place dishonourably, or unhandsomely: So that they made the businesse so really hot, and difficult, that I am confident the Victors themselves would have wish'd to have rather been without that Victory, than to have purchased it at so dear a rate. But this party, after a long Fight, were drawne to so hard a push, they were forc'd to capitulate, none comming up to their assistance or relieſe unlesse it were a few scattering men, who hearing them so engaged, though without any order, left their Quarters and hudled into this Croud of confused Destruction, which they were over-whelmed in.

And here againe in a cause received, that too many Gentlemen conceive sufficient for them to approbriate the Generall, as either treacherous, or infinitely negligent

in not relieving that Party, which as they ſay might eaſily have been done. And then in all their diſcourſes they frequently urge, endeavouring thereby to obſcure the face of his Honour with black ſhades of Infamy. But all cannot do; his Honour is too high flowne, for thoſe ſhort wing'd Baſtards to reach at, having a Soule I am confident as white, with Innocent and Loyall thoughts, as his head with hairs, and a Spirit as active as the boldeſt he that dares queſtion it: And to cleare him in this, firſt, although proclaimed Generall of that Army, yet of ſo little a date was that Title to him, as that he was not ſo immediately and clearly impowered with the charge of them, and conduct of their Intereſt, as (like a Generall) to act his owne will immediately in it; There being as yet too many Generalls, or at leaſt ambitious Spirits Intereſted, who having formerly a power in the rayſing of them, had not yet ſo clearly layd downe their power, they ſuppoſed, that nothing muſt be done (or at leaſt ought) without the reſult of their opinions in it. By whoſe advice and perſwaſion the whole body was quartered in the Countrey at large; too wide indeed to be rallyed in any time con-

conſiderable, or drawn to any Rendevouze, what ever occaſion might, or ſhould fall out; as it fell too appearantly true in this. Although of my own knowledge it was the advice of the Generall, to Lodge them all that night in the field by the river ſide; which counſell, had the Gentlemen of that County obſerved, the body had remained entire, ready to wait, and receive the Enemy upon any motion they ſhould, or could make; and the river ſo garded that the Enemy could never poſſibly have forc't any place, paſſe, or Forde of it. But the men are thought weary, and haraſed off their leggs, (having indeed marched very tedious marches) and therefore muſt have freſh quarters, and large, to revive and refreſh their tired Spirits; By which meanes the enemy made an eaſie paſſage over the river, without any oppoſition at all, and the Party in the Towne quite loſt, e're the Army or a Party conſiderable for their reliefe could be drawne together to any Rendevouze. And yet not only ſtrangers to the buſineſſe (who indeed ought alſo to be carefull how they cenſure, and aſperſe men of ſo much Honour) but ſome whoſe young Soldierſhips councells were partly the cauſe, caſt the loſſe

of the buſineſſe upon the Generall, who I am aſſured all that night, while conſtant Alarums were ſounded in his eares, of their being in fight, did his endeavours to draw Parties to a Rendevouze from their quarters, to their aſſiſtance; but none could be forced out, at leaſt conſiderable; Whereupon the next morning early, he cauſed the Army as ſoone as it was poſſible to get them together, (having ſent out orders at the firſt newes of their being in fight at *Maidſtone*) to be drawn up to a Rendevouze at *Finsbury* fields, on the other ſide the river *Medway*, by *Stroode*; Where a Councell was called in the field, and upon a report that it was yet poſſible to relieve them at *Maidſtone*, it was a generall reſult, and deſire of the Generall, yet to march entire thither. Whereupon the whole Army marched through *Rocheſter*, it being the reſolution of the Generall if it were yet poſſible to relieve them or to fight the whole Army of the Enemy.

But he had not marched two miles, when certaine Intelligence came, that they were all cut off, and taken Priſoners the night before early; though many of them came up to the Army afterwards having made their eſcape.

Upon

Upon this Intelligence the Army was marched back againe to *Rocheſter*; Where the Generall with the Commiſſioners betooke themſelves to their Councells againe, to conſult what was beſt to be done in that condition; the Parliament having before hand refuſed to receive their Petition, and the Enemy already entred the very bowells of their Country, and a party roaving about, and making a prey of their Eſtates, and Friends. For one Major *Oſborne* an Officer of the Parliaments with a Troope of Horſe, was before wheeled downe about *Aſhford*, and ſo towards *Sittingborne*, whereupon Col. *Hammon* was ordered to ſtay with his Regiment at *Sittingborne*, and Col. *Hatton* marched back with his Horſe, and liting on this troope of the Enemies, Chared them, where Major *Sumner* was kil'd, and one or two Gentlemen more wounded. Upon which Sir *Rich: Hardres* was againe entreated back, by the Commiſſioners, into Eaſt-*Kent* to raiſe the reſt of the Country, and to take care for the ſecuring of *Canterbury* and the other townes. Sir *Michaell Luſey* was alſo raiſing all he could make, this Major *Oſborne* with his troop ſecuring him in it; by which meanes the whole Country

Country began to ſeeme with a face of an abſolute ſeat of Warre. But now the courage of the Soldiery at *Rocheſter* was ſuch, as would not admit the Generall time enough to reſolve on any thing, being then at conſultation what courſe to ſteere; For though the weather were ſuch as would have envited them rather, to deſire the ſhelter of the towne, then to expoſe themſelves to ſuch an extremity of Raine, as then ſhowered downe; yet they were ſo deſirous and greedy of action, as almoſt tended to mutiny; For drawing out their collours themſelves cauſed their Drums to beat, ſaying; If their Officers would not march, they would both march and fight without them. Whereupon the Earle of *Norwich* commanded them to be drawn into the field to a Rendevouze in the ſame place as before; not being yet reſolved which way to contrive the laying of his deſigne to the beſt advantage; for he would act nothing without the abſolute concluſion of the Councell, in which was now included many able Soldiers, which came in from ſeverall parts to Joyne and engage with us, more indeed there came then the preſent condition of the County would permit accommodation

to:

to: Which gave an occaſion to divers Gentlemen to thinke themſelves diſreſpected, wanting Horſe, and other conveniences for Warre, by reaſon of their comming down from *London* by water, and unprovided: But indeed the County at that time could not yeeld ſo many Horſe as was ſuppoſed it would, therefore they could not be furniſhed for the preſent, but order was given by the Commiſſioners for their Civill treatment, and an Ordinary provided at the County charge for them, that they might continue on free quarter with promiſe of the furniture of all accoutriment anſwerable to their Quality, as opportunity would give leave: Maſter *Hales* alſo out of his owne purſe preſented a Party of them that moſt wanted for the preſent, with thirty pound to be diſtributed amongſt them.

Now it had beene the advice of ſome to plant the Army in that place, and by fortifying that City to maintaine it as long as they could; But this young military policy was not liked by ſome, who better underſtood that the Generall Engagement concerned action, and not to lie ſtill under a paſſive deſigne, beſides that

that towne was not to be maintained, though ſome thinke it was, by reaſon of that River which of it ſelfe was a fortification to one part of the towne.

Wherefore now comming into the field, the Generall called again the chief Officers of the Army and Gentlemen to Counſell; Where it was a great diſpute, and the onely now, whether they ſhould march on towards *London* in the proſecution of the intended deſigne, according to the Engagement, or march back to fight the Enemy who was wildly roaving, and raving in the very heart of their Country; and by Joyning with thoſe in Eaſt-*Kent* ſtrengthen their force, and either fight the Enemy or ſecure that County: But it was not long, e're they concluded to march on; knowing that though their body of Infantry was ſtrong enough for to give the Enemy a field, if occaſion ſhould require it; yet the Horſe was ſo weak as not to enable them to any Fight at all, having not two hundred Horſe they durſt put any confidence in; and for joyning with thoſe in Eaſt-*Kent*, they were ſtrong enough, or would be, of themſelves; beſides, they knew, that if they Marched back-

backwards, the Enemy would certainly draw down more powerfully upon them; and forcing them to retreat into a corner of the Country, take off all hopes of any assistance from any other County, which they expected, according to the association agreed on betwixt *Surrey*, *Essex*, and themselves. And if they Marched on, they should draw the Army after them: And by drawing nearer those two Counties be both an encouragement, and assistance to draw them together; who once joyning with them, would make so great a Body, as in all probability would be formidable to the Enemies; for now they were forc'd by that violence, into an absolute defensive War.

This being the result of the Councell, we immediately Marched from the Rendezvouz towards *Dartford*; onely Colonell *D. Wyles* with his Regiment (some of them being gone before) Marched away towards East-*Kent*; which Regiment was full upon Muster twelve hundred men. Colonell *Hammons* of Foot lying about *Sittingborne*, *Feversham*, were ordered by the Generall to March back to *Canterbury*, to strengthen that place,

and

and never came up to the Rendezvouze at all.

About midnight we came to *Dartford*, where the Generall cauſed a Letter to be drawne up, and ſent to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councell of the City of *London*, to give them notice of our March that way, as alſo of our intentions. Deſiring withall, that if it might be, we might have their aſſiſtance, which we hoped for, having Treated before with them: Or at leaſt wiſe that if we might not have their aſſiſtance, yet that they would permit us to March through the City of *Weſtminſter* without interruption, or reſiſtance. Engaging the whole Counties ſecurity for theirs that they ſhould not thereby be endamaged the leaſt mite.

But they (like a Dogge to his Vomit) turned to their old courſe of Parliament Service; and no ſooner received the Letter, but immediately inſtead of returning a civill Anſwer to the Generall, diſpatch'd it away to the Speaker of the Houſe unbroke up.

However, we knew nothing thereof till the next evening; ſo we marched on

all

all that night, and the next day without any refreſhment, or repoſe at all. The next day about noone we came to *Greenwich*, where the Generall drew the whole Army into the Park, expecting to receive ſome good ſatisfaction from the City, as alſo from *Surrey*, *Southwark*, and *Eſſex*.

But we found but ſmall encouragement, or reaſon for the continuance of thoſe hopes, receiving no intelligence from *Surrey*, nor any newes of appearance of men for our aſſiſtance, either from thence, or any other place. *London* we heard had ſhut, and guarded their Ports againſt us; Onely there came a Gentleman out of *Southwark*, as he ſayed, who comming to the Quarter-maſter Generall, aſſured him, that if the Generall would ſend any conſiderable party into the Burrough of *Southwark* for their aſſiſtance, that they would unanimouſly riſe and joyne with us; which he acquainted the Lord Generall with, and returned him this Anſwer: *That in regard he was a ſtranger, and not known, he muſt not expect a party ſhould be adventured upon his bare aſſertion; but if he would returne to thoſe Gentlemen of the* Burrough *that he ſaid employed him, and that any of the Principle*

ciple men would engage to what he promiſed, that then they ſhould have what party they ſhould deſire. With which anſwer he returned, but never came againe.

There came a Gentleman alſo out of *Eſſex*, who aſſured the Generall that the County was up for to joyne with us, (which was more then we expected, having heard contrary newes before at our firſt comming to the Park, or afterwards found true) and that about *Bow* there were two thouſand men in Armes, and more at *Chelmesford*: Upon which intelligence the Generall (earneſtly intending the proſecution of what he had undertaken) croſs'd the Water in the Ferry-boat with his Horſe, and went over privately into *Eſſex* himſelf, not carrying one Servant with him, intending onely to goe to *Stratford*, or *Bow*, where his intelligence aſſured him a Body was gotten together, to aſſure himſelf of the truth of it, and to returne; and in caſe it proved not true, to ſteer ſome other deſigne with the Army: But if he ſhould finde the Country in ſo good poſture as his Intelligencer related, upon his returne to provide Boates, and to conduct the Army ſafe over to joyne

joyne with them. Leaving Sir *William Compton* with the charge of the Army then Major Generall, by whoſe appointment proviſion of Bread, Beere, and Cheeſe, was brought into the Parke: Though it proved a great difficulty to procure it in that Towne, not being very well furniſhed for its owne ſtore.

But now our party began to be much weakned from what it was two dayes before, and no aſſurance of any aide appearing, and we abſolutely fruſtrated of our deſigne, of marching through the City to *Weſtminſter*: Our Condition began to ſeeme ſomething deſperate, not knowing what to truſt to, beſides Gods providence: For we were not able to fight with any hopes of victory, or ſucceſſe, if they had followed us, although ſo great a reſolution was ſtill amongſt us, that had an Army double the Enemies Engaged us, it would have proved ſomething of a difficulty to have vanquiſht us.

Now the night being come, and the Generall not returned, according to expectation; Which he could not doe, for

finding no party ſtirring at *Bow*, or *Stratford*, he made no ſtay till he came to *Chelmsford*, becauſe he would aſſure to himſelfe a certainty of the condition of that County ere he returned, which would be the next morning. There being no poſſibility of procuring Boats for the tranſporting ſuch a number of men over the River in the night, which was the next hopes we had left, ſome timerous Spirits began to ſteale away, which put ſuch a diſtraction amongſt the whole Party, as every man was almoſt in an amazed confuſion. To advance which diſorder, one Riding into the Park in the darke of the night, told the Soldiers, that they were in very great danger, and that their Officers wiſht them to ſhift for themſelves; no man regarding what he was, nor demanding his reaſon; which ſo amuſed the Soldiers that heard it, and ſo aggravated the diſtraction (although no Enemy were neere) then many began to ſhift for themſelves, and procuring the Ferry boat wafted over to the Iſle of *Dogge* as they thought for their abſolute ſecurity. Some alſo endeavouring it, and being got into, were againe forced back by

by other Soldiers, who exclaiming upon them for running away, threatned to fire at them if they ſhould offer to ſtirre off the ſhore with their boat.

Thus did this hopefully well-ordered buſineſſe ſuddainly ſuffer under the unconſtant humour of fortune, to the greateſt change that ever was. But all men are naturally ſubject to change, and therefore ought to be the more cautious in proſperity and reſolute in change; for too much ſecurity in the one precipitates to the other, and too much dejection and remiſſeneſſe in the other hurles into deſpaire, to deſtruction.

At laſt this cauſleſſe, and unlook'd for diſtraction begat in ſome a pannick fear, in others a mad fury; ſo that every man began to ſhift for himſelfe, and hunt out for his owne ſecurity, being doubtfull of it almoſt in every place; but as a thing deſigned by an extraordinary providentiall power of that All-powerfull Divinity that always prevents misfortunes, and ſo gives life to future actions, eſpecially ſuch as are ground in religious Honour, though in a diſorderly rout, throwing themſelves into the very mouth of Deſtruction (who elſe might have been

ſecure enough, had they remained till the Generalls returne where he left them) the greateſt part of the Foot, and ſome few of the Horſe at ſeverall places tranſported themſelves over the River of *Thames*, no man knowing what would be the event of their raſhneſſe, nor able almoſt to give a reaſon for what they did in it, or if any, but a ſuppoſititious one, though it proved lucky enough: For had we remain'd there till the Generalls return, according to the condition he found the *Eſſexians* in, he would hardly, in reaſon, have laid the ſcean of his deſigne that way; by which means we had likely, not only have loſt that ſervice which afterwards hapned, but have fallen in an inſtant, and in much leſſe Honour.

But this raſhneſſe had been ill enough too, had not the great and All-ſeeing Soul of Nature inlivened our then almoſt dead fortunes by a miraculous guidance through that gulf of miſchief we were then plunged into, and as before ſtrangely, and unexpectedly brought us together, ſo now as providentiall conducted us through a miſery as great, and elſe, unevitably ruinous. For having thus confuſedly, as it were, throwne our ſelves over to the other ſide of the

Thames

Thames for our further ſafety, (in that fear where indeed no danger was) we had no ſooner landed, but ſuppoſing our ſelves to have been in *Eſſex*, where then our only hopes had fixt their Anchors; but we unexpectedly underſtood that we were in *Midleſex*, under the Hamlets of the *Tower*, and poſting to abſolute ruine; like that unfortunate veſſell, that ſeeking to avoid the fatall Rock of *Scylla*, plung'd her ſelf into the more deſperate gulph of *Charibdis*.

Here (by the appointment of the Houſe) lay a Regiment of Hamletteers of the *Tower* drawne up to their Armes in ſeverall Guards, ready to receive, and cut us off at our Landing, which might eaſily enough have been performed, conſidering the diſorder we were then in; every man Marching according to his owne phancy, and comming up from the River ſides at ſeverall places and wayes: Yet all, at it were by a ſtrange ſympathy, ſteering one and the ſame courſe.

But Sir *Will: Compton* (a man truly Noble, and more compleat in Gallantry, Virtue and Honour, than yeers) having firſt diſcovered this plotted miſchief, and perceiving the ruine we were running blind-fold

into: As ſuppoſing it the beſt courſe in that condition, treated with them for the whole party before he would permit any man almoſt to March in amongſt them. By which means conditions were drawn, and Signed between him, and the Officers in Chief of the Regiment: Which were, that all our Foot ſhould, upon laying downe their Armes, depart to their own homes, or where they pleaſed quietly, without any violence, or moleſtation offered to them. And all Gentlemen, and Officers, with their Horſes, and Armes, to March where they pleaſed alſo without any diſturbance. But thoſe conditions were ſoon as almoſt broke, as made; for, before the foot came up, ſome Gentlemen marching through their Guards, had their Horſes and Armes both taken from them by the Major of the Regiment, by whom the Articles on their party were Signed.

Then the Foot, and a greater number of Gentlemen, by their eaſie March comming up together; and underſtanding what was done, and how unlikely they were to keep Articles when they ſhould lie unarmed at their mercy, that had ſo unworthily begun, and ſo ſoone broke them, Marching through

through two or three Guards, no man being permitted to paſſe any by-way, by reaſon of the eaſie Match the Gentlemen made, the Foot came cloſer up; ſo that they hop'd the better to avoid abuſes of thoſe who began already to ſcoffe and fleere at us.

And conſidering what a condition an inauſpicious fate had reduced us to, and how theſe Gallants had broken conditions; we began to think of ſome other way then ſo lamely disband, and ſubmit our ſelves by ſuch worthleſſe Boores, (who underſtood not ſo much Honour (I except the chiefeſt of them) as to know what was meant by drawing, and ſigning Articles of Conditions) and ſo began to ſift out the diſpoſition of the private Souldiers, who we ſoone found ſo reſolute as to expreſſe themſelves rather deſirous to die there, in the bed of Honour, than to ſurvive ſuch an infamous misfortune, and live ſlaves all the dayes of their lives after.

This bold reſolution proved now the happy guide to a better Fate; and all concluded to make a ſecond diſpute for Conditions, and Charge through them. And being now in the midſt of them, every man

provided himſelfe accordingly, the Foot all lighting their Matches, and the Gentlemen drawing their Piſtols, began to alter the conſtitution of our fleering Hamletteers, who left their vanity of jeering, and ſo we marched on from gaurd, to gaurd, through the midſt of them, as moving to the place of disbanding, where we expected an oppoſition, and as much reſolv'd to force through it; but that proved the laſt and utmoſt guard juſt at *Bow* towne.

But now they beholding us marching in this reſolute manner, and ſtill moulding our ſelves into better order, were abſolutely daſht from a thought of oppoſition; ſo we marched on without the leaſt affront till we came to *Bow-bridge*, where we ſuppoſed was the place for our disbanding: At the other end of which bridge was a turne-pike ſtrongly guarded with Musketteers, and having entred upon the bridge, we made a ſtand to parly with them; but after a very ſhort diſcourſe being asked whether they were Friends, or Foes, we were anſwered from them, Friends; whereupon we replyed, if you are Friends let your turne-pike be opened; ſo they opened their turne-pike, and with a very great ſhout let

us

us in. And now we were in *Eſſex*.

So we marched cleere through theſe Hamletteeres, and carryed away the Major Priſoner, and another Officer; but afterwards, upon their Parolls, they were ſuffered to goe to *London*, but never returned againe according to their Engagements, by which alſo you may gueſſe how much Honour they had in them; ſo we marched on ſtill till we came to *Stratford*.

Here we met with the Generall againe, returning backe to us, expecting to have found us in the ſame poſture he left us in the Parke at *Greenwich*: But underſtanding the carriage of the buſineſſe, and what had fallen out, was much troubled at it, and knowing the long and tedious marches they had made, and the precedent nights actions, could not permit them any repoſe; nor that they had received any refreſhment for two nights, and that the third day. Immediately gave command for the drawing them up into order, and by planting on the green, to procure ſuch refreſhment as the place would afford for the preſent, ere we marched any further.

And here was a providence in all this unhappineſſe, had we received the leaſt affront

affront or oppoſition by theſe Hamletteers, or by any obſtruction been hindred never ſo little time, we had beene abſolutely cut off; or had we been disbanded, we had beene as ſodainly ruined; for we had no ſooner marched over the bridge, and ſcarce drawne up, but we received a very ſtrong Alarum by a Party of Col. *Whalies* horſe; Who, as it was conceived, came thither purpoſely upon the Intelligence that we were to disband, to make a prey of us when we were naked; and by ſurpriſing us, make what ſpoile they pleaſed with the private Soldiers, and take all the Gentlemen Priſoners; but by Gods aſſiſting providence that was prevented; and now they fell on thinking to have beat us off from our guards by their ſight onely, ſo they marched on a full carreer (having laid an ambuſcade of Dragoones to ſecure their retreate) as if they would have deſtroyed us in a minute, which indeed had been facile enough had we been as tame as they ſuppoſed we had beene, and had not the Gentlemen beſtirred themſelves couragiouſly; But now we were awakned againe by this Alarum, and rouſed from the drowſie ſpirit that poſſeſt every man almoſt, if he but ſat downe, or ſtill on Horſe-

Horſeback; and drawing out a Party of Foot to ſtrengthen the Guard, rallyed a Party of Horſe to a number of thirty, and marching forth the turne-pike, gave them ſuch a home charge, that ſo ſtarted them, as it put them to ſuch a perfect rout in an inſtant, and kill'd and wounded many of them; which ſuccesful action gave life to our defatigated ſpirits, and encouraged our Party ſo, that they followed the purſuit as far as *Milend-greene*; but by that meanes fell into their ambuſcade, who fired upon them from the hedges, ſo they were forced to make as much ſpeed in retreating, though none purſued. In which ſervice only one Gentleman, a *Grecian*, being ſhot by the Dragooners was left behind about the Green, and in the Charge Cap. *John Lynne* cut over the Chin, and over the Breſt, which was all the hurt we ſuſtained in it. But although our purſuit continued no further, yet the Enemy kept on their flight in that diſorder, no body following them, till they came to *White-Chappell*; which, as I was Informed, gave an Alarum to the whole City, as farre as *Temple*-barre.

But now the Hamletteeres began againe to oppoſe us, but were as ſoone forc't to take

take Sanctuary in *Bow* Church, where we ſurrounded them with a Party of Horſe and Foote, and put them to treate with us for a quiet returning home to their owne houſes, engaging themſelves never to oppoſe us againe. Thus was there a convertible change of various fortune in two oppoſite Parties, in leſſe then two houres ſpace.

After this our Party again retired within the Turn-pike; and ſtrong Guards commanded on all Paſſes and Fords about the River, and on all High-waies and Avenewes, for hindring the Enemy from making Incurſions upon us, who were againe calling and drawing up a ſtrong Guard at *Milend-greene*, both of Horſe and Dragoones.

But after all this, our Party reſting a little began to take heart againe, as thinking themſelves ſecure from any oppoſition or Inconveniencie, being amongſt our profeſſed Friends; When our condition gave another reverſe, and was like to change for the worſe, then ever before: For after he had run through ſo many difficulties, and wearied out with ſo tedious marches, our Soldiers ready almoſt to fall downe in the Street for want of foode to ſuſtaine them: we were like to fall into another encounter

with

with adverſe fortune. The Generall, notwithſtanding his great age, which might eaſily have diſ-inabled him from ſuch toyle, yet as if he had beene abſolutely Indefatigable, or elſe miraculouſly nouriſht, (not receiving almoſt any reſt or ſleepe, for the ſpace of foure daies, and three nights, and yet not ſeeming to want any) poſted immediately away againe to *Chelmsford*, where the Gentry of the Country were met; giving order for the Quartering that ſhattered Army in *Stratford* till further orders from him.

But when Quarter-maſter Generall *Carter* had ſent for the Conſtable, and given him Orders accordingly: The Conſtable ſeeming to goe about in obedience to his Warrant (whilſt by ſome other Gentlemen he was civilly, and honourably treated as a ſtranger) makes no long ſtay ere he returned againe, accompanied with three or four burly Gentlemen, (as I conceive Juſtices of Peace of that part of the Country) who making it their buſineſſe, began to queſtion the Quarter-maſter Generall of his Authority of Quartering an Army in that Country, intimating that they were all quiet before, and at peace amongſt themſelves, and

with

with the Parliament; and that the Parliament had granted them what they desired, and had sent them an Act of Indempnity: But we bringing an Army into their County, should draw down the Parliaments Army upon them, and make it a Seat of Warre; and they could not any way condescend that we should fix a Quarter there, it being no way for their safety, but like to prove the readiest way to their destruction.

Cheerfull expressions to men that had run through so many hazards, and confused difficulties. Having let our own Country to the Cruelty of a most barbarous and mercilesse Enemy, to come as by an abolute associated engagement to their assistance; whereby we hoped to be strong enough to break the bonds, and tear off the shackles from our most inhumanly imprisoned Soveraign, and unnaturally enslaved Countrymen; and now no sooner entred the Confines of their County (from whence so many publick Declarations of their Loyall and sincere Intentions had flowne abroad throughout the Kingdom) and so late checked the Insolence of the proud Enemy, and beaten them off from forcing a violent incursion upon it, and to have such an unex-

pected

pected welcome, was too harſh, and ſevere, and might have proved very miſchievous, if reſented by the inferiour ſort of the Army, whoſe fury knowes little, or no more, when enflamed with ſo juſt a diſcontent.

But the Quarter-maſter Generall returned them this Anſwer in ſhort: *That for the power by which he Quartered that Army, it was by Commiſſion from the Generall, and that he quartered them in that place by immediate Command alſo from him:* But for our comming into that Country, it concerned him not to diſpute it; neither could he give any other account then the Engagement between both Counties, and the Generall, the Earl of *Norwich:* But if they ſhould deſire any further ſatisfaction, to their deſires, they muſt receive it from the Lord Generall himſelfe.

But the Generall being gone to *Chelmſford*, Sir *Will: Compton* being Major Generall, hearing of this diſpute, came alſo to them, and gave the like ſatisfaction, but would not long diſpute the buſineſſe with them, knowing nothing at all of them, nor by what Authority they were empowred to make thoſe interrogatories.

And now our Blouds being hardly coole,

ſince

ſince the laſt Affront, when heated again by this new, and the conſideration of the ſad ſucceſſe of our ſo juſt, and honourable Deſignes, almoſt boyling to fury, reſolved to Quarter there till we ſhould againe receive Orders from the Generall; and then (in caſe the buſineſſe of the Country ſhould prove ſo, contrary to our hopes, and the expectations of the whole Kingdome, as to anſwer the expreſſions of thoſe men of *Beliall*) to March on, forcing our way through all obſtructions, till we ſhould find a party to joyne with, or be deſtroyed in the Field; that we might thereby win an Honourable Liberty, or Tombe.

Here we Quartered till Wedneſday in the afternoon, it being Sunday morning when we came thither, ſtill keeping the Enemy in ſome play, who lay with their Guards within half a mile of us, and their Scouts ſtill pekiering with us at *Bow* Townes end. All which time the Earl of *Norwich* continued at *Chelmsford*, agitating the buſineſſe with the Gentlemen of the County; and minding to what it would turne there, who had not long before put forth this declaratory Engagement.

The

The Engagement, or Declaration of the Grand Jury, Free-holders, and other Inhabitants of the County of *Essex*, in prosecution of their late Petition presented to both Houses.

WE the *Grand Jury, Free-holders, and other the Inhabitants of the said County in the prosecution of the said Petition, doe Engage our selves one to another, and Declare,*

1. *That We Will not pay any more Excise, or other Taxes, till all the desires expressed in our said Petition be obtained by us.*

2. *That We Will admit of no Souldiers to come into our County but such as agree with us in our said Petition, and in this Engagement.*

3. *That We will imploy our utmost endeavours to preserve and defend our Royall King* Charles, *His Kingly Government; the Subjects Liberty, and the known Lawes of this Kingdome: That is to say, the Common, and Statute Lawes, and Will never submit our selves to any other kind of Lawes, much lesse to any Arbitrary power Whatsoever.*

4. *That We Will protect, and defend one another, and all that shall adhere to us in the pursuance, performance, and keeping of this Engagement: And that if any Inhabitant of our County shall refuse to joyne with us herein, we shall esteeme him a person dis-affected to the Peace and Welfare of the same.*

But notwithstanding this Engagement, they were yet backward enough in prosecuting any thing to the purpose, in answer to their Petition, or Association here. When his Excellency came, he found the greatest part of the Gentry of the County met; but all business so dis-joyn'd, and so strangely confused, as there seemed almost an impossibility of any good to proceed from that so high Engagement, and mountainous Conception: And our party consequently left (as inconsiderable) to be cut in pieces by a most cruell Enemy, who had already possessed themselves of our whole Country; ruin'd our Friends, made lavish havock of our Estates: and having proclaimed us Traytors for comming thither for their assistance, would prove as undoubtedly prodigall of our lives, if ever we should fall under their power.

The

The diſtraction indeed was ſo great, that the Gentlemen, and Commoners, who came there with reall intention to proſecute their Petition, and Engagement, were likely to have been diſperſed in leſſe time then they were in coming together; Capt. *Lin* of that Country had once before raiſed a thouſand men, which were immediately diſpers'd. An order of Indempnity being read in the head of them by Colonel *Farre*, which the Committee of the County ſo preſſed to them, that they went all quietly home. And now were as active in their Indeavours for the ruine of the maine intereſt of that Deſigne; as indeed it concern'd them enough, for they knew the proſperity of Loyalty is deſtruction of Rebellion: I leave them to make the Application.

They were ſo active in their *Machivilian* Stratagems for countermining all policy againſt them, as that *Charles Lucas* being there urgently tending upon the deſigne, and many other Gentlemen with carefull diligence for the advancement of the King, and Countries Liberty, (it being the ſole and generall end, both they and we really intended, and the ſole reward of our actions we all aimed at; and conſequently pro-

ſecuted all circumſtantiall opportunities which we conceived conducing to it, that at laſt, though by the hazard of a Warre, we might generally attaine to the happy bleſſing of an honourable and laſting Peace) thought it their beſt courſe in that diſtraction to depart privately forth the Town, leſt ſome unexpected inconveniency might take hold on their perſons, if once it had over-whelmed the generall intereſt, as now they began to fear would be, abſolutely diſpairing of any good at all.

But ſome of the Country Gentlemen then got together in the Town, and by chance meeting them, deſired Sir *Charles Lucas* that he would not goe away ſo, but let the Committee doe what they would, they were ſenſible enough how they had ruined and undone them, and they would be abuſed no longer by them; but if he would be pleaſed to draw them out into the Field, and ſtay with them, they would one and all engage with him, and live and die in that Engagement, according to the intention of their meeting together, having reſolved not to returne till they had performed ſomething.

This ſuddaine change in a little time proved very violent, as it is commonly ſeene in all

all things;ſo they immediately drew into the Field,and ſeiz'd on theCommittee,and were ſo furiouſly incenſt againſt them,* that ſome of them would have kill'd them immediately,had not ſome Gentlemen reſcued them,& pacified the others fury, and afterwards placed a Guard over them ; for now they were reſolved, that ſince they had actively engaged themſelves, they would be no more obſtructed in their proſecution by thoſe grand Oppoſers;who they well underſtood would be active enough in their endeavours,for the deſtruction of that deſigne,(if at liberty)and the ruin of theActors in it,being right-becked Committee-men of the Parliaments own bringing up, as appeared afterwards by Sir *Tho: Honywood*, who being at liberty, and at his own houſe at *Coxwell*, alwayes an Enemy to the King and Kingdome, made himſelfe appear ſo really now, by raiſing both Horſe and Foot, as many, as by his power he could draw together, either for love, or fear, and made his houſe a Garriſon to oppoſe the Coumty (as much in him lay) in their proceedings in that deſigne ; But his party proved ſo inconſiderable then, as it could doe but little injury.

The buſineſſe comming to this height,

his Excellence the Lord *Norwich* ſent his orders to Sir *William Compton*, to march away towerds *Chelmsford*; ſo we marched away from *Stratford* with our whole Party, which by this time was well recruited by many of our men that came up, and divers Prentices from *London*, who came daily in and liſted themſelves; And about Wenſday night we met the Generall at *Rumford*, but the Enemy marching after us, ſo obſtructed our march by Alaruming us in the Reare, that the whole Body could not get up till the next morning; though the Enemy durſt not adventure in all the march to fall on upon the Reare guard.

The next day being the eight of *June*, we marched on towards *Burntwood*, whither Sir *Charles Lucas* was advanced with a Party both of Horſe, and Foot, to joyne with us: And having Intelligence, how the Enemy followed us with Alarums in our Reare, commanded forth all the Horſe that were then in the Towne to aſſiſt us; ſo we marched up, and quartered that night at *Brentwood*; and the next day being the ninth, we marched on to *Chelmsford*, where the Lord *Capell*, the Lord *Loughborow* and divers Gentlemen of quality frō *Hartfordſhire*, and other

other Counties, came in to joyn alſo with us; which gave a great encouragement to our Army. There came in a Party alſo of Gentlemen conſiſting of about fifty, who entering their combination in *London* made their Rendevouze at *Hideparke* corner, and marching all night, the night before intended to beate up a quarter of the Enemies at *Epping* (being in their way) But the Party was drawne out by chance hard by the Towne, upon ſome other deſigne, ſo they were diſappointed of their Stratégem; but though they found them ready drawne up in order, yet unexpecting any affront (not thinking of any Enemy) they marched up, and being well Horſt charged through them, and the next day came up to us, having loſt only one Man, and one Horſe; but the Horſe being a gallant one and taken by a Country-man, was recovered againe, the Gentleman that loſt him comming off afterwards, went out with a Party and fetcht that man in, and ſo regained him.

That afternoone both Parties of *Kentiſh*, and *Eſſex*, were drawne out to a Rendevouze in *Newhall* Parke neere the Towne, belonging to the Duke of *Buckingham*, which Generall meeting gave much encou-

ragement to both Parties. Where the Generall and Sir *Charles Lucas* joyning in consultation the Gentlemen of both Counties alſo, that by a unity in the engagement, as well as the Intereſt, there might be greater hopes of proſperous ſucceſſe.

At which councell it was once a generall reſult to have marched away Immediately, and fallen upon the Party of Sir *Tho: Honywoods* at *Coxwell*; but upon a more ſerious deliberation otherwiſe reſolved on, and orders given out for the quartering in the Towne that night; But this Party of *Coxwell* diſincouraged the Country that they began now to be very ſlack in their apearance to joyne, in relation to what they were before; not only by reaſon of Sir *Thomas Honywoods* activeneſſe, but becauſe of the Enemies entring alſo into the Country with their whole Body.

Saturday the tenth we marched on towards *Braintree*, but tooke *Leeds* houſe in our march, belonging to the Earle of *Warwick*, where we were like to have beene oppoſed by ſome people who were purpoſely placed there, and upon the Quartermaſter-generalls comming thither to ſecure it from the violence of the Soldiers, refuſed to

open

open their gates, being about twelve or more men with Fire-armes and two Drakes, saying that they were placed there for the securing that house, and they would rather die, then deliver it up to be plundered tamely. But being afterwards by some parley Informed that the Generall himself was coming, and that the Quartermaster Generall was commanded before to secure them from Injury; they gave him entrance with some other Gentlemen, believing it was but little boote for them to dispute with an Army: about noone the Generall and Sir *Charles Lucas* came, and having first dined there, ceised on the Armory, where they found a good Magazine, both of Armes and Ammunition of all sorts; so we carried from thence the two brasse field peeces, and about two or three hundred Muskets, and as many pikes, with about 60. great Sadles, and body Armes proportionable to them, and some Pistols and Carbines; and a good proportion of Match and Ball, with divers other Instruments and furniture of Warre; But many of the Sadles we left behinde for want of carriages for them. Here we Rendevouzed all the afternoone, till towards night in the

Parke

Parke beyond the houſe; the Enemy of Rendevouzing alſo with a Party of theirs very neer the other ſide, and that night in the Parke; but adventured not to appeare all that day in ſight of our Army. There was a Party of Horſe alſo came in to us upon the march, (which along time we ſuppoſed an Enemy) from *Hartfordſhire* and *Bedfordſhire* conſiſting of about ſixe ſcore. From thence we marched forwards, and quartered that night at *Braintree*. Where the next day being Sunday, both Parties were drawne into the field in the forenoone to Rendevouze: And after prayers all the Gentlemen that were in the Army, were drawne into troopes, under the command of the Lord *Norwich*, Lord *Capell*, and the Lord *Loughborow*, and Sir *Charles Lucas*; that they might not only know to diſpoſe of themſelves upon any occaſion of Alarum; but being in order it would be a great conveniencie, for diſpoſing them into quarters upon every remove.

About nine of the clock at night we marched from thence; and continued our march all that night, making onely one halt about daybreake, till the next day about fower of the clock in the afternoone; about

bout which time we drew neere *Colchester*, whither at a Councell the night before, upon Sir *Charles Lucas* his desire, and beliefe of recruiting very much there, they concluded to march, but not to stay above one night or two at the most, and therefore moved in the night to amuse the Enemy that they might not to sodainly follow us; And being within five or six miles of the Towne, a Party was sent before towards it, for Sir *Charles Lucas* had received intelli- that they would not receive him in Armes; then himself, with some other Gentlemen, marched onwards before the Army, after that party was marched away: But ere the Quarter-master Generall left them to goe to the Town, came intelligence from the Party, that the Towne stood upon their Guard, and were so far from giving entrance to our party, as that they opposed them, and were too strong for them: At which newes Sir *Charles*, and the Gentlemen with him, set Spur to their Horses, and hasted on with a full speed till they came within sight of the Towne, and comming neere, they found that they had shut their Gates, and drawn out about sixty Horse in a very formall Troop, well Arm'd and Accoutred;

some

ſome of their Scouts being without the Turn-pike by the Almes Houſes, then Sir *Charles* made a ſtop to ſend back a Meſſenger to the Army to haſten their March; but ſome four or five Gentlemen keeping on their ſpeed, drew their Swords onely, and Charged up to them, and forc'd them within their Turn-pike; ſo they retreated on the Head gate, where their whole Troop was drawne up in order; and the Gentlemen retreated againe towards the Turn-pike, but ſome of them, as they retreated, fell in amongſt the Gentlemen, yet never fired a Piſtoll till they came out of the Turn-pike againe, then one of the Gentlemen turning quick about ſhot one of them, and he fell from his Horſe. But when they perceived the Body of the Army comming, and that Sir *Charles Lucas* had drawn up two or three Troopes of Horſe very neer them, they ſent out to treat with him; and upon his Engagement that the Town ſhould not be plundred, nor any injury offered them for what they had done, they ſubmitted themſelves, and engaged to deliver up their Horſe, and Armes, with the Towne; ſo the Gates were opened, and the Army quartered that night in the Town.

The

The next day being Tueſday, *June* 13. about noone we received a very ſtrong Alarum, and that the Enemy was advanced within a mile of the Town; and indeed by that time we could provide parties to ſend forth, their Forlornes were engaged with our Out-guards in the Suburbs; which Guardes were immediately doubled, and it was not long ere we were as ready to receive them, as they to aſſault us: Our men being drawne up to their Colours, freſh parties were ſent out to aſſiſt the Guards, both of Horſe and Foot; and the Enemy came on as ſtrongly on all parts of that ſide the Town next *Lexden*, and fir'd up to the very Hedges and Guards of our Foot, but were as furiouſly oppoſed, till at the laſt ſome of the Guardes wanting Ammunition to maintain the heat of the Service, about the Almes houſes, and the houſe called *Grimſtones* houſe, were over-powred with the number of men that threw in their Shot like haile upon them, and ſo forc'd to retreat, and gave the Enemy the Liberty of all that ground. Which retreat gave them alſo advantage of falling upon our other Guards neer *Sheere*-gate; whereupon the Out-guards were ordered to retreat within the town; it being the beſt policy to take the greateſt

greateſt advantage in oppoſing an Enemy, were an Army double the Enemies ſtrength: But ere this retreate could be made, and the Guards drawne within the Gates, that diſpute grew cloſe, and very hot; the Enemy comming on ſo violently, that it was much difficulty to maintaine any ground againſt them, yet were they ſtill as reſolutely oppoſed, ſo that it was as hard a matter to judge whether ſhewed more courage, the Enemy in aſſailing, or our Party in defending.

Now we being forc't to a retreat, although as much out of policy, as danger, gave an encouragement to the Enemy to proſecute their charge upon us, as thinking themſelves more then halfe victors already, and that they ſhould in ſhort time make themſelves maſters both of the Town and us.

But this new and ſcarcely fleſht Army of Country men, added fire to the heat of the Service, in ſuch a height, and with ſo undaunted a reſolution, far contrary to the Enemies expectation, although they had received an experimentall knowledge of them at *Maideſtone*, that many of them could not digeſt it, but left their bodies in the Streets, and Hedges, as Infallible witneſſes of what was done; yauning out their Soules to receive their arreares, in another world,

for

for their ſo Religious rebellion in this.

Many of their dead bodies they threw into wells, ſome they buried in ditches, many they carried off; yet left ſo many behind, upon the place, that by ſome relations we received from the Country, of the condition of their Army the next day, and the account we had of many of their Soldiers, that came voluntarily in to us; we could not believe that they loſt leſſe then ſeven hundred men; Col. *Needham* and diverſe others of their prime Officers being alſo kild, beſides many which were wounded, and above one hundred and thirty Priſoners, taken and brought into the Towne; for having retired within the walls, our ſhot fell ſo thick in amongſt them, they could not long abide it; but after a ſeven or eight howers fight were ſo gauld, that they were forc't to a diſhonourable retreate, leaving behind them one braſſe peice of Ordnance (which they brought to force the gate) twelve of their traine Horſes being ſhot within twenty yards ſpace of ground, and about five hundred Armes, which the next morning were brought into the Towne. Their retreat was in ſuch diſtraction, that had we ſallyed out with a freſh party upon them, as was once intended, we had cut their

whole

whole Army off, or the greateſt part, as many of their own acknowledged. I muſt confeſſe I never yet ſaw any men fight with a more gallant reſolution, and courage, then thoſe men did, although raw Country men, as they could not but do indeed, having ſo rare preſidents, in ſo honourable perſonages, as thoſe Lords and Gentlemen under whoſe conduct they were brought thither, and under whoſe Command they then fought, who ceaſed not themſelves to act the duty of the meaneſt and moſt inferiour Officers, or run the hazard of the privateſt Souldier; but took Pikes in their hands, when their Horſes were not of immediate ſervice, as well for the maintenance of their ground, as to give encouragement to the more inferiour ſort, leſt by unuſuall heat of the ſervice they might grow ſlow, and dull in the performance of their duty to the utmoſt: The Lord *Capell* charging at Head-gate (where the Enemy was moſt preſſing) with a Pike, till the Gate could be ſhut, which at the laſt was but pind with his Cane. The Enemy ſtill gallantly enough too, (to give them their due) endeavouring to force their entrance in upon us, adventured on ſo farre as to fire under the Gate, and oft-times to throw ſtones over.

In

In this ſervice we loſt Sir *William Campion* and Col. *Cooke*, men of incomparable and unblemiſht honor, both receiving mortall ſhots upon the firſt charge in the ſuburbs, and one Lieftenant, and about thirty or forty private ſouldiers; though many more were wounded

Sir *William Layton*, though not intereſted in any immediate command in the Army, yet of ſo high and noble a ſoul, as could not admit of a private ingagement, in ſo generall a deſigne, took the charge of an outguard, and endeavouring to make his retreat, when he perceived the enemy poſſeſt of ſo much of our ground as to get between him and home, was unfortunately ſhot in the foot; ſo that ere he could recover the gate, it was ſhut, and the enemy intermixt with his party; ſo that he could by no means eſcape being taken; but by chance, by a ſouldier that had formerly ſerved four year under him, in the Kings ſervice, and in his own Company; who upon the ſervice, knowing him, came to him, and would have carried him off, but was forc'd by reaſon of the ſhot that came ſo thick in upon them from the town, to run away and leave him; but though he were very neer, yet had loſt ſo

much blood, and was grown so stiff, he could not shift for himself: After a while, the souldier coming again, carried him off, and rescued him from the most inhumane usage of other souldiers; which souldier afterwards proved very officious also to him, and upon the receipt of the next pay to conduct him home, left the Army upon the unchristian demeanours he observed amongst them.

Lievtenant Colonell *George Rawlins*, commanding another out-guard on that part of the town, was also surprised ere he could make his retreat, and about forty foot souldiers; so that in all were taken of ours about fourscore prisoners; But many of them that were taken, upon their distracted retreat got from them again, and came safe into the town.

But night coming on, and it proving very dark, was an oportunity for them to steal a retreat; but ere they drew off, set fire on some houses neer to Headgate, hoping therby that the wind would so force the fire inwards, that it should burn the whole town; but the diligence of the souldiers proved as great in defending it from fire, as before from plunder and the sword, guarding it from

from an enemy mercileſſe in the one, and inſatiable in the other, as the ſuburbs in the town can well witneſſe; where although poor people were ſo little indamaging them, or aſſiſting us, that they rather ſeemed to oppoſe us, not only in our coming thither, but in all we did there; yet the next morning we found ſcarce one houſe unplundered, from the one end to the other, and many poor men dead in their houſes, and women and children fled.

Amongſt the reſt my ſelf by chance received this account the next morning by break of day: Juſt over againſt the Almes-houſes lived a poor Weaver, where I chanc'd to ride by, and finding a poor woman very heavily bemoaning her ſelf, and in ſo lamentable a nature, could not but demand the cauſe of ſo much grief; whereupon ſhe anſwered me, that the laſt night, ſome of the ſouldiers that fought againſt the town came violently into her houſe, and took what they pleaſed; and that they were no ſooner gone, but more came in, and not finding any thing in the houſe left that pleaſed them, came to her husband in the loom at work, and demanded money of him, who told them, that he had been worth but a little before in the

houſe, and what he had, the ſouldiers that came before them had taken from him, excepting only ſome ſmall ſum he had in his purſe, which he would willingly give them if they would be ſatisfied with it; But it not anſwering their expectations, no more would they anſwer his deſires, but told him he was a Cavalier Rogue, and had more money, which they would have or kill him; both which he denying, one of them ſhot him through the body, ſo that he immediately died; at which noiſe his ſon coming in, they fell to cutting of him, and had ſo cruelly wounded him, that he lay more likely to die then live.

Now having thus made their retreat in the night, the next morning they drew back to Lexden, a village about a mile from the town, where they fell immediatly to work, and caſt up a Fort juſt upon the high-way to ſecure the head-quarters, and barricado's croſſe all the high-way; here they lay about two dayes ſtill; then approaching neerer, in the night caſt up another Fort in that road towards the town, where they placed a guard; and the next night they entred ground upon the hill called the Warren, and placed a ſtrong guard there the night following,

lowing, and ſo every night broke up freſh ground in ſeverall places, which they thought moſt advantagious, running their line by degrees from one Redoubt and Fort to another.

This gave us juſt occaſion to believe that they intended to plant themſelves before us for a longer continuance then before we had imagined, and to block us up; by which we were invited to conſider of our own future ſecurity, which then conſiſted in the greateſt care of victualling and fortifying; the only two things to be firſt thought on in ſuch a caſe; eſpecially in a town ſo much defective in the one and the other. A place, I ſuppoſe, as little ever ſuppoſed, as before by us intended, for what it was afterward ordered to; no man, I think, that had ſurveyed it with the judicious eye of an experienced ſouldier, could be ſo weak as to ſuppoſe it a place fitting to be mantled, or maintained for a garriſon; it was our intentions only to take it as a preſent quarter for a night or two.

But this ingagement having forc'd us to it, enlivened every man with an active and cheerfull diligence to forward an advancement of all requiſites.

To march away now we could not, for we had no way to march, but that we muſt within a day fall into a champian country, where the enemy being ſo very ſtrong (as we were weak) in horſe, would have cut us off at an inſtant; our Foot being no ſuch experienced ſouldiers as to maintain a charge of themſelves, both againſt Horſe, and Foot, where there were no hedges to guard and ſhelter them from Horſe; though ſome have judged otherwiſe of the deſign, and the conduct of it.

Now by this incomparable diligence on all parties (no man at the firſt knowing where to find proviſion of any ſort, more then belonged to every private family for ordinary ſuſtenance) we found in a ſhort time, in ſeverall places of the town, and a place called the Heyth adjacent, many private ſtores of corn, and wine of all ſorts, with much ſalt, and ſome fiſh, and a good quantity of powder, the want whereof would ſuddenly have thrown us into abſolute ruine, having very much exhauſted our magazine by the laſt dayes buſineſſe.

It is ſaid, that he that will picture War, muſt firſt begin with the belly: ſo we (according to that policy) having many bellies

to

to feed, and not knowing how long it ſhould pleaſe God to continue us there, were the more inquiſitive after proviſion; by which means at the Hieve (for ſo it is more vulgarly called) we found a greater aſſiſtance then indeed we could have hoped for, which was conveyed into the town as conveniently, as time would permit, the Enemy being ſo favourable as never to endeavour to cut us off from that place, till we had almoſt dreyned the honey from the comb; which they might eaſily have done, had they ever enterpriſed it. A providence almoſt as great as that of the Iſraelites in the Wilderneſſe: For, it is reported, that in the memory of man there never was known ſuch plenty of all things in that place, as accidentally then.

Whileſt we were thus active for prevention of all dangers that might happen, by ſtrengthening the walls of the town, and fortifying where no wall was, by caſting up rampires and counterſcarfs, as a very great part of the town required, the Enemy was as buſie without, in running their trenches, making their approaches, and caſting up Forts and Batteries againſt us, ſtill earthing themſelves, and we as diligent and laborious

within, as in truth not without much neceſſity on our part, the Towne being in all places very weak, neither had it any more then one Flanker about it, and that very bad too, which was called the Old-Fort.

Now if it ſhall be objected, why in this time, not being certain of any timely reliefe, we did not draw out and fight with them, as it hath been often urged: They that will judge diſcreetly of our condition, will eaſily be ſatisfied of it: had we had no hopes at all of relief, which we then had, both from the Scots, and divers other places, at the ſame time in action; beſides it was conceived the greateſt piece of policy, by keeping the enemy in a lingering action, to give a remora to their deſignes, and ſo ruine them by delaies; by which meanes eſpecially we ſhould give liberty, and all opportunity to others that intended any action, to work their deſignes without interruption, and not to run the hazard of an immediate ruine, by giving them battell: for had we fought with them, it muſt have been upon infinite diſadvantages, (as I ſaid before) firſt in the inequality of the number of Infantry: And ſecondly in that we had

had no considerable party of Cavalrie in respect of theirs, whose greatest strength consisted in horse. And it was not a rash or fond supposition to think that could we hold what we had, till the rest of the Kingdome should rise, we should then do as good service, as in the immediate victory: we supposed we might possibly hold out a moneth, and were resolved on it, though it concluded in our own ruine; yet by that time, if not sooner, we could not but expect (in all probability) a relief.

By this design also we were [illegible] to give liberty to the Scots to march quietly into the Kingdome, being then as we most assuredly understood, upon their march, and neer the borders.

Neither was this all the hopes we cherisht by this resolution; but there remained a possibility of a victory over that Army, by delaying to fight with them, till some more fit opportunity should offer it self, or the tediousnesse of the service weaken them by hard duty, constant action, & unseasonable lying in the field, in respect of the weather; & we have many gallant examples in this kind. *Pompey* was well advised for a while when he refused to fight and gave *Cæsar* ground:

But

But when by the importunity of his Captains he adventured the battell at *Pharſalia*, he loſt the battell, the freedome of Rome, and by it his own life.

The Conſtable of France made fruſtrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the fifth, when he invaded Provence, by waſting the Countrey, and forbearing to fight; ſo the Duke of Alvaria, by that policy wearied the French King in Naples, and diſſolved the boyſterous Army of the Prince of Orange in the Low Countries.

One [illegible]ample I ſhall inſert, to touch more ſeverely upon thoſe hot-ſpur Politicians that ſhall ſo violently criticize upon that point, and accordingly refer the application, by looking into that battell of Pavy, as tragicall as fatall to France, where the King was taken priſoner, and the French fruſtrated of their main hopes of Italy.

The day before this overthrow, the King ſummoned a generall Councell of War, and deſired the opinion of his Officers, whether he ſhould give a Field to the enemy or not: Whereat an old Captain began exceedingly to perſwade the King to ſtay, and delay ingaging till ſupplies (which were already levied) ſhould come up and ſtrengthen his Army:

Army: desiring him not to throw into hazzard unnecessarily, the welfare of France; Urging, that the consultation was not only for the Kings honor, but his safety: At which time there was at the Councel a young hotspur, fitter to begin, then continue a charge, who alleaged, that nothing was more honorable then that the victory should be gained by fight, &c. taunting the old Captain, It was no marvell though an old man and fearfull sought delayes, whose mind was disturbed with his usuall fears, and now was seeking a passage through his guts: The old man could not indure this his scurrility, but replied, Seeing the King will have us fight, I will die to morrow an honorable death before his face; when thou, forgetfull of thy brags, and rashnesse, shalt by a base flight forsake the field: Which Propheſie in all respects was fulfilled, the field desperately lost, and the King taken prisoner: Many more examples in this nature I could insert, but I think it as unnecessary, as tedious.

Now although we gave them not a field-battel, yet suffered them not to lie idle from fighting constantly almost in one place or other, both night and day. Neither were they so weak as some suppose, after our shattering

tering them, but that they were in their foot ſtill above, or equall our number before the Suffolk Foot joyned with them, who lay upon the bridges of the river ſo ſtrong before the enemy drew them over, that we could not have forced our paſſage, in caſe we had attempted it, but that we had been fallen on by the enemy in the rear, and been engaged both waies, to the hazard of an immediate deſtruction of our whole Army.

About the twentieth day of the moneth, divers gentlemen were ſent forth privately with Commiſſions to raiſe men in Norfolk, Suffolk, & Cambridge ſhire: But the Country forces having broken up the bridges, and guarded the paſſes, and the enemy taken the Fort called Merſey Fort, that commanded the paſſage into the Iſland, there was no paſſage left open for them, ſo they were forc't to return again, which they did ſecure, although through the enemies quarters, not a man being taken.

The next night a party of horſe, and foot was commanded forth into the hundred of Tendring, for the bringing in of proviſion, which returned the day following ſafe, with about one hundred ſheep, and ſix-

ty

y beeves; which were all delivered into the Commiſſary for the generall ſtore, and ſo everynight ſo far as our bounds would reach till the enemy begirt us cloſer, proviſion was brought in to the publike ſtore.

Two or three daies after that part of the Countrey riſe, to joyn with us: but the Captain who by Commiſſion from Sir *Charls Lucas* was to levy and command them, would have betrayed them to the enemy in their riſing, to ingratiate himſelfe with the prevailing power, (an Epidemicall diſeaſe in this Kingdom) but was diſcovered, having not ſo much policy as villany; and ſeiz'd on by the Countrimen, till Sir *Charls Lucas* his pleaſure might diſpoſe of him; and them: To whom they ſent two ſufficient men of their party, to give him an account, making it their earneſt ſuit, that he would ſend a party of Horſe and Foot to aſſiſt them in their riſing, and conduct them ſafe into the town, which according to their requeſt was done; A party was drawn out and ſent in the night, who ſtayed there about a week, and afterwards returned ſafe with thoſe they had raiſed through the quarters of the Suffolk Foot, who were drawn over the river, and incamped betwixt them & the town.

Then

Then was another party commanded forth in the night, which marching out at the North-gate, forced through their quarters, and in the morning returned safe, losing not above two men, for which losse they gained livelihood for many more; for they brought in with them about fifty oxen, and cowes, besides sheep, and some corn and other provisions, and might have brought more: But Sir *Charls Lucas* being tender of his Countrey, would not permit them to drive from any, but those they should know to be actuall enemies; which proved afterwards a very great inconveniency, and prejudice to the Towne; for after that we never obtain the like opportunity, the enemy drawing immediately down neerer upon us, came within lesse compasse, and begirt us more straight; for they were indeed much incens'd with anger amongst themselves, that they should suffer us to march through their quarters upon a sally, and return again safe. Yet we secured the Heith, as a finall refuge for provision, from whence we conveyed daily, such provisions as it would afford, keeping a constant guard there; which the enemy endeavoured not to hinder us of, till we had left very little there.

July

July 5. The Councell of Warre publish'd a Proclamation, for the calling in all such Towne-ſmen, as would ſerve upon the line for the ſecurity of the Town, to liſt themſelves for the ſervice under ſeverall Captains and Officers, being deputed by Sir *Charls Lucas* to command them, and all others, to bring in their arms to be delivered up into the Magazine; and that none, who ſhould refuſe to liſt themſelves, ſhould keep any arms in their houſes, upon pain of death, and the forfeiture of their goods, to the benefit, and uſe of the Town.

About this time the enemy incroach't ſo neer upon us with their approaches, notwithſtanding our daily ſallies, and skirmiſhes with them on all parts, as that they fell down into Eaſt-ſtreet, and ſeized on the Mill on the river, and placed a ſtrong guard there; which guard, (out of hopes to have fired all that part of the ſtreet betwixt them and the Town, becauſe many of our men both quartered and guarded there alſo) ſet fire to a Tanners houſe and barn, with all the goods, leather and corn in it; the houſe being the next houſe to the inner-ſide over againſt them, and bringing downe two Drakes began to be ſomething buſie, and troubleſome

troubleſome to our guards; whereupon at the next Councell of War upon the diſpute, a reſolt was made for a grand ſally on that part of the Town, which was accordingly performed, and Sir *Charls Lucas* commanding in chief, marched in the head of the horſe, and Sir *George Liſle* commanded the foot; the whole party conſiſted of five hundred foot, and two hundred horſe, out of which a forlorn party being drawn out, they firſt marched down towards the river, where the enemies guard was on both ſides the ſtreet, and a Barricado croſſe, from whence with their caſe ſhot from their Drakes, and ſmall ſhot from the Barricadoe and guard-houſes, they play'd very thick upon them, having no other paſſage over thſi river then a foot bridge, the end wherof reach'd within five foot of the enemies barricado. But as if it had been but a ſporting skirmiſh amongſt tame ſouldiers at a generall muſter, they regarded it not, but running on in a ſingle file over the bridge, & ſome for haſt through the river, mounted their barricado, and beat the enemy off in an inſtant; and having once gained that, overturned the Drakes, and charged on upon other parties that ſtill fired on them in the

ſtreet,

ſtreet, and paſs'd by the Guard-houſes till they had cleered a great part of the ſtreet; then ſurrounding them, charged in upon them, who having neither poſſibility of reliefe, nor indeed of retreat, or eſcape, yeelded upon Quarter; ſo they took the Captain, Lieutenant, and Enſigne, and about foure ſcore private Soldiers, with all the other inferiour Officers. Many were alſo kill'd in the adjacent houſes, the whole ſtreet almoſt being full of Soldiers. The Drakes they over turned, and one of them they threw into the River, but not having Teames ready, could not bring them off. Now the whole party being marched up, and having thus ſurpriz'd the Guard, they marched on, and made good the Charge till they had cleared the whole Street; which gave ſo great an Alarum into all their Leager, that they immediately rallyed together all the Foot and Horſe on that ſide the River, and marched down the hill from behind the Windmill, on the top of another hill in a very full and orderly Body, onely they left their Colours and Pikes with a reſerve behind the Windmill. But our Party having gained almoſt the top of the firſt hill, followed their charge ſo ſmartly upon them, that they ſoon forc'd

them to a disorderly retreat, and quickly made them strive to take their leave of their ground: But the Fields were over-spread with distractedly dispersit Soldiers both of Horse and Foot, some from Houses out at Back-doores and windows, and others from Hedges in a great disorder. Our Party being thereby encouraged, prosecuted their successe, till they had beat them up beyond the Wind-mill, and forc'd Reserve and Colours, and all they had, or could rally, to quit their ground, and so to disperse themselves, that they were forc'd to divide their Horse into three Squadrons or Bodies, one Division to keep the Field against ours, having now made a stand to draw into better order; and the other two constantly wheel'd up and down, beating their Foot up as they ran away: Which course had they not taken, their Foot would never have disputed a hedge, (for that was their refuge now) and we had immediately cleared all that part of the Leager.

But now having gotten a very thick hedge for their shelter, and being thus forced up, began againe to stand: and our Foot out of more heat of courage indeed then mature policy, having engaged thus farre, some of them

them ſtill ran on, till they gained an old thin hedge, oppoſite to the Enemy, beyond the Wind-mill, where they ſtill fir'd upon the Enemy, maintaining the oppoſite hedge, a party of the Enemies Horſe ſtill wheeling about in the Field between them; Which party by chance diſcovered that they had ſpent all their Ammunition, by hearing a Soldier roundly calling out for ſome, and thereupon ſuddenly clapt ſpurs to their Horſe, and made a full Charge in upon them through that hedge, (as they might eaſily doe any part of it) who not having Ammunition, nor time to retreat, were moſt of them kill'd and taken: Till when we had loſt very few in all the Charge, though many were wounded in it, as could not otherwiſe chooſe in ſo ſmart a ſervice: Although I confeſſe the Saints of our times have found out ſuch a way of fighting, as to kill thouſands, with the loſſe of very few knites: but tis onely Tongue-charmes that guard their Armies, and not any Providence, that conducts them to ſuch Miracles.

Now the Body of our Party being upon their Retreat, and perceiving of this, faced about againe, and received their Charge with ſuch an undaunted retort, they forced

them againe to as ſpeedy a Retreat; and ſo marched eaſily off into the Towne againe, and in very good order.

In this action Sir *George Liſle* was once taken Priſoner, but immediately reſcued; and in all we loſt one Captaine, and one Lieutenant, and about 30. private Soldiers, which were taken at the broken hedge, but very few kill'd. Mr. *Weſton*, a Gentleman of the Generalls Troop, being ſhot in the belly, was alſo taken Priſoner. Of the Enemies, 80. and odde were brought into the towne priſoners, and between two and three hundred kill'd; amongſt which was the Colonell that ſucceeded Colonell *Needham*, in the Command of his Regiment, who was kill'd the firſt nights on-ſlaught, and many of them wounded; of which very few eſcaped, but dyed within a very ſhort time, as their party confeſſed themſelves to our priſoners: either through neglect of their Surgeons, (in which we ſuffered very much alſo within the Town) or through the unſeaſonableneſſe of the weather, inſomuch that divers that came into the Town afterwards, and theſe men too that had been formerly in the Kings Service, affirmed that the buſineſſe was at the leaſt 500. men loſt

60

to them; beſides many that left the Leagure upon it, ſome comming into the Towne, three or four in a day, and often more for a long time together, and others ſtealing away to their own homes.

After which Sally the Countrymen began to diſguſt the Service, and thought it hard duty to lie ſo long in the Trenches, and were glad to entertain all commers that would undergo their duty for them, allowing them 10. ſ. a week conſtant pay to be excuſed themſelves: By which meanes many that came up from *London* and other places to have joyned with us, not being able to come into the towne, entred themſelves in their Armes; by which meanes they might more advantageouſly come to us, if it had been our fortunes to march out into the Field; But Heaven had otherwiſe ordained, having a farther Judgement for this wretched Nation.

The next night the Enemy ſtrengthning their Leager on that part of the Towne, fell into the ſtreet againe, with a ſtronger party then before, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of their former guards and ground, and again fell to firing the houſes on that ſide of the River next the Town, ſuppoſing thereby to

fire our Guards which we had now placed in the face of them, being but a River betwixt, which much endamaged them, and kept the fire ſtill from doing any harme: Then they ſet fire to all the Windmills neer the Town, to hinder us from grinding our Corne, but we ſoon ſalved that ſore; for, finding at the Heith by the River ſide many Milſtones, lying for tranſportation, ſome of them were brought into the Town, and diverſe Horſe-mills ſet up, which proved very ſerviceable all the Seidge.

Then they raiſed two or three Horne-works and Redoubts on the North ſide of the Leagure, running their Trench up to them from the River ſide over againſt the Warren, where they placed diverſe great Peeces, which they played violently at a Mill called the middle Mill upon the River, the only Mill they ſuppoſed we had left, and indeed was, excepting thoſe Horſe-mils, but did little hurt to it; for they thought, if they diſ-inabled us to grind Corn for the Soldiers, that they would mutiny for bread: which was probable enough, and might have been, having ſuch poyſonous Incendiaries to ſet them on as they had (I am confident) privately entruded amongſt them, and the

towns people to second them; but this was happily prevented by the dilligent care of the Lo: *Loughborow*, who made the moſt laborious toile as pleaſing as the lighteſt recreation, by undertaking, and continuing the generall charge of providing all neceſſary proviſions to be daily ordered and diſtributed by the Commiſſaries to the whole Town; inſomuch that he would many times half a day together continue his ſtrict eye over both Mills and Bakers, leſt by their indiſcreet (or it might be wilfull) neglect, very great inconveniences might happen.

The ſame care was alſo ordered to be taken by the Mayor for the peeple of the Town, who was commanded by the Councell of War to make ſupplies of proviſion for the Inhabitants of the Towne, and to ſet up Mills for the grinding their Corne, who by this time began to be in want, the Town very full of them, and many of them indigent peeple, who were not in a capacity to provide for themſelves, nor had ſcarce been when the Town was open: But the Mayor (whether out of a rebellious wilfulneſſe, or ſottiſh ſimplicity, I leave others that know him to judge) but as I gueſſe my ſelf, rather deſiring to hazard the ſtarving them, that ſo

by the violent instigation of unmercifull hunger they should be urged to a mutiny in the Towne, by which meanes the Enemy might take hold of our confusion amongst our selves, and over-whelme us in a suddain and generall destruction; for, notwithstanding all threats and dayly urgencies from the Lord *Loughborow*, and Sir *Charles Lucas*, he still neglected all care to provide Corne for those who had none, or Mills to grind for those who had yet some left.

Whereupon the poor of the Town having quite exhausted their provision, began to throng together, making great clamours and exclamations of their ill usage, and the necessities they were fallen into, their Bellies sounding alarums to their Mouthes, made their mouthes instruments to thunder them forth to the ears of the Officers of the Army, now not at all reflecting upon the duty of the Mayor and Officers of the Town: Then Sir *Charles Lucas* at the next Councell of War (commisserating them as his own Towns-born people) made his desire to the Lords, that they might have some Corn delivered them out of the generall store, which was as easily granted as motioned, and an Order immediately drawne; by which Order

der the Comiſſaries were appointed to deliver to every Family according to the number of people in it, ſuch a proportion of Breadcorn, which amounted in groſſe to 300. quarter of Wheat and Rye; the want whereof proved afterwards ſo great an inconveniency to our ſelves, as that half that quantity would have ſupported us til we had obtained better conditions from the enemy.

At a Councell of War the 12. by a generall conſent, the Earl of *Norwich* cauſed this enſuing Declaration to be diſpers'd, as well in the Enemies Leager, as in the Country:

A Declaration of his Excellency, *George* Lo: *Goring*, Earle of *Norwich*: With the Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County of *Kent* and *Eſſex*, in Arms for the proſecution of their Generall Petition, and ſolemne Engagement: And their Offer unto all ſuch Officers & Soldiers as ſhal repair unto them.

COuld Proſperity make us inſolent, this overture ſhould be the ſtory of our preſent fortunes: how numerous, how unanimous, how aſſociated, how befriended, or (in a word) how heaven and earth conſpire to our deliverance. Conſider with what aſſurance we have managed our very deſpaires, and raiſed our ſelves to this height out of nothing. Conſider withall, that we move ſtill by the ſame reſolves, as we are favoured and encouraged by that hand of

Pro-

Providence, which at first raiſed us.

From this poſture (Gentlemen and Fellow-Subjects) we ſalute you in a temper of love, and Chriſtianity, diſingaged (we aſſure you) from any intereſt, or mixture of revenge or feare. Peace is the end we aime at, and by Peace, if it be poſſible, we propound to accompliſh that end.

To which purpoſe, upon a ſad and compaſſionate thought, how many Innocent ſoules are ſeduced by the Impoſture of a pretended liberty, and how many more corrupted, by their owne importune neceſſity, into an erroneous, and unfortunate engagement; all which muſt in probability periſh, except they may be recovered by the offer of this, and this onely expedient:

What Officer, or Soldier ſoever, now in Armes againſt us, ſhall before the 21. of this preſent *July*, make his repaire unto us, or any part of our Forces, and there enter into an Ingagement, not to Act any thing againſt us for the future, ſhall have his arreares audited and paid: And we doe further oblige our ſelves, to interpoſe unto his moſt Sacred Majeſtie, for an Act of Indemnity; the ſucceſſe whereof from our gracious Soveraigne the King, we at all doubt not. And for the performance on our parts, we tie our Honours and the Faith of the County; Avowing with all, that we deſigne nothing of alteration either in Church or Common-wealth, but what this preſent Parliament hath declared to be the duty of good Chriſtians, and Loyall Subjects.

July 22.

July the 28 the Enemy drew downe upon the Heith, where we had a guard placed in the Church, but the Officer (Cap. *Horſmander* by name) who then Commanded the guard no ſooner ſaw the Enemy, but delivered up his guard, himſelfe, and Soldiers, without ſo much oppoſition as the firing of one Muſquet; Which had he diſputed, he might in a very ſhort time been relieved, and drawn off; though the place could not have beene maintained. But that place proved very little benefit to them for by that time we had ſcarce left any thing of Proviſion or Ammunition there, onely this benefit they might receive, they might underſtand what a neglect they had committed, in permitting us ſo long to keep it within our Quarters, when with ſo much eaſe they might have ſurpriſed it from us, for it lay ſo opportune to them to have fallen on, that had they made an attempt upon it, we could not have maintained it without engaging our whole Body, and quitting the Towne; and indeed had they ſurpriſed that place in any convenient time, as they might eaſily enough have done, before we drained it, we could not have kept the Town ten dayes, there lying the greateſt

greateſt part of our Proviſion, by which we afterward Subſiſted.

The next day having drawne the line very neere the Lord *Lucas* his houſe, they planted to Demy Cannons, againſt St. *Maries* Church, from whence they fir'd threeſcore and odd great ſhot at St. *Maries* Church ſteeple, but did very little hurt, for with as much ſpeed as could be a battery was raiſed againſt them upon the Curtain, from whence we had not play'd above four ſhot, but one of their beſt Cannonneers fell, and about ſix men more, whereupon theydrew off their Guns from that place, finding it too hot for their continuance.

Now the cauſe that made them ſo envious at that Steeple, was becauſe we alwaies kept a Sentinell there, which diſcovered their motion bo th night, and day; beſides we had made a platforme in the frame of the Bells, and planted a braſſe Sakar there, which flanking their trench did them much Injury.

The 25. day the Enemy drawing their line neerer the Lord *Lucas* his houſe, under the ſhelter of an old wall, and ſome buildings, brought up two Demy Cannons, and battering upon the Gate-houſe (wherein

was

was a guard of a hundred Musketteers) beat one ſide of it to the ground, which falling into their worke (that was but a ſmall halfe moone drawne from one ſide of the great Houſe to the other) anoyed them very much; then fired two or three Granadoes immediately with it, which buried many in the ſtones and duſt, the reſt not able to ſtand the ſhock; betaking themſelves to their Swords, and the but ends of their Muskets, diſputed it very hard from one place to another, after they had loſt their line, till moſt of them got away, ſome out of the Wicket of the gate, and ſome out of the windowes, and broken places of the houſe. The Officers alſo forcing their liberty with the points of their Swords, came all off ſafe.

Neither could the Enemy much boaſt of this ſurpriſe, although it were ſome advantage to them; for they purchaſed it with the loſſe of many ſtout men, and of their oldeſt Soldiers, who they quickly found by the wall and trench ſides, ſome dead, and others ſpeaking their Enemies valour, in their owne miſerable dying grones. Whileſt of the whole guard conſiſting of a hundred men, not above ten were taken Priſoners,

and

and some foure or five kill'd, many I confesse were wounded, but came off and recovered.

And having thus possest themselves of this House, (as it is their custome in all other places, the first thing thought on is plunder) they fell to searching the House, and those things that were in it moveable though little of worth, or conveniency they tooke away; which could be little more then bedsteeds, and stooles, and the like. That house having beene diverse times before, and indeed the first in the Kingdom, as is believed plundred: But finding themselves no better rewarded for their service, that they might be more notorious in their villany, broke up the vault wherein the ancesters of that Family were usually Interred, under the pretence of searching for money, and finding them not yet quit dissolved, the corps of the Lady *Lucas*, and the Lady *Killigrew*, (as I received it from eye witnesses) wrapt in Lead; they tore open that coffine, beyond what ever was known or read of before, or amongst the most unhumane barbarous thoughts, dismembred their trunks, throwing a legge in one corner of the vault, and arme in another, and

were

were so Impudent in this so and worse then brutish act, as to beare away the haire of their heads in their Hats as a triumphant bravadoe in honour to their villanie. In which posture the vault continued, till the corps of Sir *C. Lucas*, that Loyall Martyr, was brought to possesse it. Is not that Common-wealth happy that must receive a reformation from such Saints? Who have these ten yeares been practising acts, absolutely monstrous to even nature it selfe: Beyond parallel, president, or politicall complotment of the most subtill Machavillian, or bloudy Tyrants in the world.

By this time our Magazeens began to be very empty, all our flesh being spent, whereupon the next businesse that was concluded on and ordered, was the searching what private stores there were in the towne, but they proved as weake as the other, then the Councel of Warre, (receiving a returne of the searches what the condition of the towne was, for matter of Provision, who had now examined every private Family) ordered that all the Horse excepting two hundred, should in the night sally forth, and breake through the Leager, and if they could get through with that convenience they

they wiſhed, to march *Northward* towards our ſuppoſed reliefe; For at that time we had received very great aſſurance by private letters, that reliefe was intended, and haſting towards us from Duke *Hamilton*, under the Command of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*: So the Horſe were all drawne to a Rendevouz in the Caſtle yard late in the night, and a party of Foot with them for their aſſiſtance in forcing the Enemies line with Pioneers, to levell a way for them to let the Horſe in, when the Foot ſhould have forc't the Enemy from their line, which was ſuppoſed would eaſily have beene performed, and thus they marched over the River by the Middle-mill, and came within the Enemies Centinells e're they were diſcovered, or any part of their guards Alarmed; but their guides, and Pioneers (being for the moſt part Townſmen) as out of a plotted combination amongſt them, ran away from them, the night being dark. So they were forc'd to retreat againe into the towne, which they did, without the loſſe of a man; but it gave the enemy ſo much notice, as they made an abſolute diſcovery, together with their intelligence from the towne: ſo it was (though afterwards) but bootleſſe to make a ſecond attempt.

At the next Councell of Warre, conſidering that the ſtores were ſo exhauſted, and all the fleſh, or very near the matter, ſpent, it was thought moſt convenient to keep thoſe horſe, which were fitting, for the Souldiers to eat; ſo they were againe drawn into the Caſtle yard, with order that not any Officer whatſoever ſhould conceale his Horſes, but cauſe them to be brought into the field, upon the forfeiture of them to immediate ſlaughter; & the 3d. part of every Troop drawn out and diſpoſed to the Commiſſary to be kill'd, and ſome to be immediately diſtributed, and the reſt powdred; which the Soldiers very willingly ſubmitted to, and as cheerfully fed upon them, rather than deliver themſelves to their Enemies, upon any baſe or diſhonourable terms, which expreſſions of theirs were ſo common and publique, as that the Enemy hearing of our falling to Horſe-fleſh, heard alſo of that reſolution of the Souldiery, which did ſomething ſtartle them; for before they hoped for, and expected, our dayly ſubmiſſion to a Treaty for Rendidion.

Now upon the laſt ſearch, that was

made in the Townſmens houſes and ſhops for all things edible, there was very little Corne found, as in ſome houſes not above a peck, and in ſome two, ſome none, or any Fleſh hardly, yet was there a good quantity of ſpice and Oyle; which ſo far as it would hold out, proved very uſefull with the Horſe-fleſh; ſome ſtarch alſo was found, which was preſerved, and made very good puddings.

It hath been reported, as I underſtand, that at this time we had ſome reliefe brought into us by water, from the Fleet at Sea, but it was nothing at all true, for although there were a River that came up to the Town, yet the Sea was not neer by ſeven miles of the Town and upwards; and beſides the enemy had poſſeſt themſelves of the Blockhouſe againſt the Iſland of *Merſey* that commanded the paſſe into it, ſo that no boat could ſtir by them to the *Hieth*, which was the neereſt place that any could come.

And it hath alſo been eſteemed a very great ruine to the Engagement, that the Iſland was neglected and loſt, for want of firſt poſſeſſing that Fort. As for my part I believe no ſuch thing, for indeed had we

we taken it, as it was once intended, and Col. *Tuke* (though to late the Enemy being pre-poſſeſt) appointed for the ſame deſigne, I cannot underſtand any way poſſible that it could have been any thing beneficiall, as the conſtitution of our Intereſt then was; for it lay above ſeven miles then from us, ſo that the Enemy falling about the Town and begirting us, as we might without any proſpective of extraordinary policy diſcover, would poſſeſſe themſelves of all parts of the River betwixt them and home, and ſoon hinder all recourſe betwixt us, the River being not above twelve foot broad in moſt places; then had it been the ſame thing in reſpect of the River, and thoſe men in the Fort left to worke out an improbable ſafety for themſelves. Neither was it ſuch an Iſland as ſome fancy it to be, that is not capable of releiving halfe ſuch a body as we then were, had we endeavoured to ſeek any ſanctuary there, as ſome would beleive would have been our beſt courſe, when we ſaw we could not keep the field; and to thinke to ſtrengthen our power by dividing it, is a ſtratagem beyond my ſhallow capacity, and I am cer-

tain no policy of *Machiavils*, unleſſe our number had been compleat to have enga-riſon'd both places and if they ſhall think that had we marched intire thither we might have been relieved by Sea, they are eaſily anſwered, that though we knew of the ſubmiſſion of the ſhips to the Royall Authority, yet we did not underſtand the condition they were in, which had we, I ſuppoſe was ſuch, as not to be able to furniſh us with a months proviſion, much leſs more, when they could hardly victual themſelves, and I would faine have thoſe politick men informe me, which way we could expect reliefe there, when five hundred men at the paſſe would have kept us in till we ſhould be ſtarved, and the Army at Liberty to March whither they pleaſed to obſtruct all parties from riſing to our aſſiſtance.

But let men diſpute and cenſure what they pleaſe; The Enemy (having poſſeſt themſelves of the Lord *Lucas* his houſe, and the *Hieth*) began to draw their Line more ſtreight about us, and now lay abſolutely round us, ſo that we were ſoddainly begirt within a very little diſtance; Then they brought their biggeſt pieces of Battery

ry, as 2 Demi-Cannon, & 2 whole Culverins, neer St. *Johns* Houſe, and again fell to Battering St. *Maryes* Steeple, and after ſome time beat down one ſide of it, and a great part of the Church, & broke the Saker that was planted in it, but kill'd not on man, only bruiſed one of the Matroſſes.

The five and twentieth, in the night, the Enemy alarum'd us round the Line, and fell on upon the Guard in the Middle Mill, againſt *Ryegate*, and getting over the River at a fordable place came in upon them, and beat them off to a retreat into the Town, and ſet fire of the Mill (Colonell *Rainsborow* commanding in chiefe) but a party of freſh men with Halberts and Sithes (moſt of them Gentlemen) being drawn down upon them, gave them ſo deſperate a welcome as made them ſoon betake themſelvs to their legs, & throwing down their Arms run diſorderly off, and miſtaking the ford of the River, many of them were drowned, and about twelve kill'd, and ſome five or ſix taken Priſoners, and the Mill ſoddainly quenched, by the Souldiers throwing water into the fire with their hats; ſo that little harm was done, and the Enemies ſtorm prevented,

which we were informed they had intended that night.

It will not be much out of the way in this progreſs to look into an accident that happned at this Guard, neither do I think it any whit unworthy to be taken eſpeciall notice of.

An Enſigne of Col. *Tills* Regiment, being ſhot through the Body, in at one ſide, and out at the other, with a five pound Bullet, went from the Guard to his quarters in the heart of the Town by the help of one Souldier only leading him, the Bullet hanging by his ſide in the skin, and being laid on his bed, the Bullet broke out and carried with it his laſt ſpirits of life; onely giving him time to breath out this expreſſion; *Oh that I had been ſhot with my Colours in my hand, that furling my ſelf in them, I might have ſo dyed; my Friends might then have believed, I really loved my* KING, *and that I liv'd, and cheerfully dyed in His, and my Countryes ſervice.* An expreſſion as gallant as the ſtrangeneſſe of the ſhot by which he dyed; & pitty it were the memory of ſo great a loyalty ſhould ſleep in ſecurity, but be rather erected an everlaſting

Trophee

Trophee in the hearts of all true Chriſtian Royaliſts, and conſciencious Subjects to his never dying fame, and it much grievs me, that I am unfortunate in the ignorance of his name.

The ſeven and twentieth day the Enemy lying in *Maudlin-ſtreet*, began to caſt up two or three Redoubts in the Field, betwixt it and the Town, over againſt *Berry* fields, (for ſo were they called next Eaſt-gate) and beginning to expreſſe their unwelcomneſſe by their turbulent behaviour, we ſuppoſed they intended to be ill Neighbours, whereupon a party was drawn forth, which made a ſmart ſally upon them, and beat them off from their works, and followed them into the ſtreet, and houſes, and kill'd many of them, ſtill maintaining their ground (although it were about noon-day) till the Enemy began to draw great Bodyes of Horſe and Foot upon them, then they made an orderly and fair Retreat, bringing off ſome ten or more Priſoners, with the loſſe of one man and two more hurt; and afterwards that they grew thus near, daily ſallyes were made in one place of their Leaguer or other, to the end of that ſiedge.

On the Sunday following Sir *William Maſſam*, one of the Committees that were Priſoners in the Town, was ſent forth in Exchange for Mr. *Aſhburnham*; whoſe man was permitted to come to the Walls (but not within the town) where he received him; joyfull enough of his Liberty from that Impriſonment; though ſome have boldly aſperſt the Gentlemen to whom they were Priſoners, and avoucht that they were placed juſt upon the Line, becauſe they ſhould be kill'd by the Impartiall ſhot of their Friends; which is falſe enough, they being lodged there at our firſt comming to Towne, not ſuſpecting any ſuch ſervice, but as the beſt, and moſt convenient Inne, and afterwards the Towne being ſo full, would not admit any better conveniency for them, and I think, let them acknowledge only the truth, and they muſt needs confeſſe civility enough was ſhewed them to the end, being allowed to receive any proviſions of freſh and hot meats, as Veniſon Paſties and the like into the Town, without any the leaſt oppoſition or affront, whilſt the Lords and Gentlemen themſelves fed generally on Horſe fleſh. I muſt confeſſe

that

that once or twice the top of their Houſe was ſhot through with great ſhot from the Leaguer, (I know not what Houſe could be aſſured free in the Town) whereupon they ſent a ſpeciall Meſſage to the Lord *Fairfax*, to let him know what Houſe they lay in, and deſired him that he would not ſhoot that way; they ſhould have gotten an Order of Parliament that the bullets ſhould not have dared to moleſt them, if he did ſhoot that way, they might then have fed ſecure. Now the Enemy thus proceeding in their ſiedge in a very formall order, crept ſtill with their approaches neerer and neerer to us; yet many of their men paid dearly for their boldneſſe, for though by reaſon of the ſcarcity of our Ammunition we could not make very great ſallies upon them, nor conſtantly fire from the line, yet ſallies were made almoſt every day in one part or other, and our ſhot ſo warily diſpoſed of, that many of them fell dayly; ſome of our men they often killed going out to cut and bring in graſſe for the Horſe; for we had no Horſe-meat left in the Town, but what they firſt fought for, and brought in and ſold; going in parties, and ſome firing

firing at the Enemy whilſt the others cut graſſe, all the thatch from the Houſes, and boughes from the Trees being eat up, but very few elſe did we loſe in all the time of the ſiedge.

Auguſt the tenth, The Lady *Kath: Scot*, accompanied with ſome other Ladies, deſiring leave of the L. *Fairfax* that ſhe might have the liberty of going to the L. *Norwich* her Father (the Lady *Norwich* being newly dead) could not procure ſo much liberty as to goe into the Towne to him, but only to come to the Sally port; and not thither neither but accompanied with a guard, that might hear all diſcourſe that ſhould paſſe between them; there came with them the Quarter-maſter Generall *Gravener*, and ſome other Officers, and were entertained with a collation of Horſe-fleſh, and a Bottle or two of wine: the beſt accommodation we could treat them with, which they eat heartily on, and liked.

And now began Horſe-fleſh to be as precious to us as the choiceſt meat before, the Souldiers in generall, and all Officers and Gentlemen from the Lords to the loweſt degree or quality, eating nothing elſe

elſe, unleſſe Cats and Doggs, which the enemy diſguſted very much, expecting a dayly rendition by us, by the aſſurance whereof, they conſtantly encouraged their Souldiers on, to the continuance of the hard duty they then underwent, who elſe would have been hardly kept together being often upon the March, either away into the Country, or elſe to us into the Town.

It was ſo hanſome a diet grown by this time amongſt the Souldiers to eat ſuch food, that we could harely ſecure our Horſes in the Stables, but every morning one Stable or other was rob'd, and our Horſes knock'd o'th' head, and ſold in the Shambles by the pound; nor was there in a ſhort time a dog left, for it was the cuſtome of the Souldier to reſerve halfe his ammunition Loafe, and in a morning walke the ſtreets, and if he diſcovered a Dog, to drop a peice of bread, and ſo drill him on, till within his reach, then with the but end of his musket knock his brains out, and away with him to his quarters; I have known there ſix ſhillings given for the ſide of a Dog, and yet but a ſmall one neither.

Then

Then the Enemy perceiving they could work nothing upon us by ſummons, threats, nor force of armes, betook them to petty ſtratagems, ſometimes ſending falſe fires of ſtrange improbable News of great victories over the *Scots*, long before they ever met with them; and Liſts of priſoners taken, never in Arms, and ſuch like Whimſies, hoping thereby to terrifie the Inferiour ſort of Souldiers to ſuch a timorous apprehenſion of their condition, as to force their Officers by their mutinous reſolutions, to treat for conditions, or leave them in the lurch, which of the two this Enemy rather wiſhed, that ſo many Gentlemen might fall a prey to their unſatiable malice.

Then they ſent private papers into the Town amongſt the Souldiers by Women, incenſing the Souldiers againſt their Officers, reproaching them with that odious name of Rebels (which they knew to whom more properly due) and men acting againſt the Peace of the Kingdome without Commiſſion, which ſtill they hoped would ſo poyſon the braines of the Souldiers, that if they would not mutiny, yet at leaſt the greateſt party would be incenſt

incenſt againſt their Officers & quit their Line, by whoſe loſs we ſhould have been ſo weak, as to be eaſily ſtormed & taken.

But inſtead of receiving any benefit by theſe ſucking ſtratagems, they wrought nothing more than an injury to themſelves; for it engaged the Souldiers to higher reſolutions.

Then they ſhot Arrows into the Town at ſeverall places, with papers faſtned to them, promiſing our Souldiers, that if they would deſert the Town, they ſhould have fair quarter, pardon for what they had done, and liberty to go to their own homes, with paſſes from the Generall, without being plundred, or ſuffering the leaſt prejudice or injury: But this neither proved any benefit to them, or injury to us, but ſtill rather exanimated and enlivened the Souldiers, who were ſo couragious in their reſolutions as very often to expreſſe that they would either live with Liberty, or dye with Honour, neither of which could ariſe by a poor ſubmiſſion to an ignoble Enemy.

And now the Enemy had poſſeſt themſelves of al places of conveniency and advantage round about the Town, and began

gan to annoy us very much in divers places about the Line, from the oppoſite and flanking Houſes, and our Magazines began to grow very low of powder, ſo that Order was given out, that the Souldiers ſhould be careful not to waſt their ammunition by firing without a very reall occaſion, and that no Gunner ſhould fire a Cannon without the Command of a Field Officer of his Poſt, or a General Officer of the Field. But theſe Houſes under the Line proved ſo obnoxious, that by degrees they made that line to hot for any almoſt to abide it; & the enemy having found this advantage drew thicker down into the Suburbs, under the ſhelter of the houſes; which the Officers being very ſenſible of, knew there remained no ſecurer remedy, ſallyed out amongſt them, & beat them out of the Streets, & ſome houſes they ſet fire to, having given order to thoſe Inhabitants who remained, to ſecure and convey away their goods firſt; and thoſe which lay immediately under the Line, & Wall, they firſt pull'd down by Carpenters, and other Workemen, that the Materials might be preſerved, and the leſſe prejudice done to the Town, and Owners;

Which

Which ſhould they have let ſtand, would have proved ſo miſerable an inconvenience, that we could not have maintained the Town one halfe hour, I am confident, had the Enemy ever attempted a reſolute ſtorm, when once they had begirt us ſo cloſe; by reaſon that in many places the ſt airs came up to the top of the Wall, in the higheſt places of it, ſo large that two or three men might haue come up a Breaſt, and ſome Rooms equalled the height of the Wall in a perfect Diameter. And if the Enemy ſhould have taken no other benefit but the opportunity of a Wind, and ſet fire to them, they might probably have ſet fire of the whole Town; Which they attempted the firſt night, and once after had effected, had not the Wind been very calme, and the Soldiers as extraordinary diligent in quenching ſtill as they fired.

The eleventh day more Arrows were again ſhot into the Towne to entice the Souldiers by alluring charms, intermixt with as ſevere threats, to quit the ſervice; intimating, That if they came not away before the next Monday (it being then Friday) that not a man which came after

ſhould

ſhould have any quarter; Which Meſſages the Soldiers ſtill reſented ſo well, as that they reſolved to anſwer it by the ſame Meſſengers, and took ſome of their own Arrowes annointing them with a T. and wrapping the ſame in paper faſtned it to the heads of the Arrowes, and writ on the papers this ſuperſcription, *An Anſwer from Colcheſter Auguſt the* 11th. 1648. *as you may ſmell*; informiug by that how little they regarded their baits, or eſteemed their threatnings.

And now by this time the greateſt part of our Horſe had changed their Stables for Slaughter Houſes, and their Riders being willingly diſmounted took up foot Arms, the Gentlemen Halberts, and the private Troopers Sithes, ready fitted with long ſtaves for the ſervice, which were very terrible for execution; and there were many Sithes found in the Towne upon a ſearch for Arms, more than ever was known to be in the Town before; and many brown Bills were alſo made in the Town; ſo that no man might be idle for want of Arms; theſe men were all liſted both Gentlemen and private Troopers (for more orderly diſpoſing them in duty

duty and ſervice) in particular companies, under the Lord Generall, the Lord *Capell*, and Sir *Charls Lucas*; the Lord *Capell* marching himſelfe a foot, with a Halbert on his ſhoulder, in the head of his Company to the guard, that none might make any ſcruple or acception againſt it; which Company lay conſtantly upon reſerve at ſeverall places of the Line at ſome diſtance in Tents built purpoſely for them; which point of Warre muſt of neceſſity ariſe from as high a conveniency as any, and indeed was a courſe conſtantly practiſed amongſt the beſt and moſt judicious Conquerours of the World, and they have left us Arguments for it in the Chronologie of divers Victories obtained, and loſt fields recovered by Fortune and reſolute Reſerves, although but of ſmall numbers, of which I ſhall inſtance one of *Serverus* the Emperour, who in a Battle againſt *Albinus*, Generall of the Britains, before *Lugdunum* was himſelfe put to flight, beaten off his Horſe, and hid himſelfe, whilſt the Britains followed the Chaſe, chanting out their prayſe as victors; till *Latus*, one of

Severus his Officers, ſtaying behind with ſome freſh Troops, and making a freſh charge, the *Severians* took heart againe, and Mounting *Severus*, put on his purple * *Surcoate*, when the *Albinians* thinking themſelves Maſters of the field, being diſordered, and furiouſly charged by freſh Troops, after a ſhort reſiſtance fled, the *Severians* following them with great execution to the City Gates.

* A Military Mantle.

Now theſe Companies muſt not be underſtood neither, for the only reſerves we had, for it was the conſtant method of the Armies duty in Generall (for I cannot willingly, nor I thinke rationally, tearm it a Garriſon, but a quarter) to lie every Regiment on their ſeverall poſt, the one halfe upon guard, and the other all night very neere, at the moſt convenient place upon reſerve.

And having maintained and held it out in defiance of a proud, ſuccesfull, and imperious Enemy (this being the 17 of *Auguſt*) ſtill cheriſhing our reſolutions with hopes of reliefe, and having yet no certaine intelligence of the ſtate of affairs

fairs in the other parts of the Kingdom, nor reliefe approaching, and our ſtores very much waſted, inſomuch that all our Corn was welnigh ſpent, and very little Ammunition left to maintaine our guards only with; by a Generall reſult of the Councell of Warre, His Excellency the Lord *Norwich*, the Lord *Capell*, and Sir *Charles Lucas*, ſigned Letters to the Lord *Fairfax*, to deſire him to grant them twenty dayes reſpite, and a paſſe through his quarters, for them to ſend ſome Gentlemen to Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, that they might receive a reall information of his condition, and if they found him as they had given him out, and not advancing towards us, and that in that time there was no hopes of reliefe, that then they would Treat for ſurrender.

Other hopes we had none left (and indeed but little reaſon for theſe) the Duke of *Buckinghams*, and the Earle of *Hollands* parties were already diſſolved into nothing (indeed without doing any thing) and no other parties riſen, or expreſſing any inclinations, much leſſe intentions, to it.

But this would not be granted; then they were forced to ſend away private Spies and Meſſengers, and concluded in a generall reſolution, to maintaine and defend it to the laſt; and in that time not to be idle with them, but as active as the want of Ammunition would admit; and according to thoſe reſolutions, ſend out a party every day or night at the Sally port (they went voluntarily upon it) and ſallying upon them were troubleſome enough to them, and kept them upon conſtant and hard duty; but *ultra poſſe, non eſt eſſe*; and our Ammunition was ſo exhauſted, that we could not ſend out great parties often; yet found out a way with what materials could be gotten to make ſome match, which though it were not ſo good as what we had before, yet ſerved our preſent neceſſity; and ſome powder alſo we made, but it was not much, for we were forced to reſigne ere we could bring it to perfection.

Then our Commiſſaries began to complain their ſtores which were almoſt empty, the people generally much neceſſitated for bread (the true ſtaffe of Life)

and

and the poorer ſort meerly for want of Corne neer ſtarving, we being not able to relieve them againe.

Then the poore people Petitioned the L. *Fairfax* by the Mayor and Aldermen, that they might have liberty to leave the Town and diſperſe themſelves into the Country amongſt their freinds, that would keep them from famiſhing. But he thought it not policy to grant it, but on the contrary gave order to his whole Army round the Leaguer, that if any ſhould be turned forth, by us, they ſhould fire at them; but at that time they conſidered by their privat freinds (our boſome Enemies) their Town intelligence, that we had made Proclamation at that time, that whoſoever had not twenty dayes proviſion in their houſes, ſhould depart the Town, as well rich as poore; at which time ſearch being made againe, very few were found to have proviſion for above two or three dayes, and then the Enemy having given this unchriſtianlike, though politick, order, it would have been a very difficult thing, to have forc'd ſo many people through a Sally Port, and dangerous to attempt, who of themſelves

were apt enough to a Mutiny, and as inhumane a policy (though policy it would have been) to have forced them from their own houſes upon the Swords of a moſt cruell and mercileſſe Enemy.

Then the ſtores were again reviewed, and the Magazine alſo, and the ſtores found to be ſo empty as not to yeeld two dayes proviſion of bread in them, for the whole Army; and the Magazine not to maintain two hours fight, if a ſtorme ſhould happen: Then a Councell of Warr was again ſummoned, where this want being conſidered, it was agreed, That it was the beſt courſe to Treat with the Enemy in time; and by the Major part by Voices it was carried; and Letters accordingly were drawn up, and Doctor *Glyſton* a Phiſician then living in the town employed in the Meſſage.

And now too ſad it was to underſtand, we had done our utmoſt, and as much that was, I think, as was poſſible for men to doe in our condition; having engaged ſo potent and conquering an Enemy ſo long, with ſo inconſiderable a party, and now at the laſt deſtitute of any hopes remaining of a poſſible relief in ſo ſhort a time

as

as our Condition would enable us to hold out.

The next morning the Doctor returned again with this Answer from the Generall; *That we had held it out so long against him, and to the utmost denyed his Summons, That the best Conditions wee must expect from him, must be to submit to Mercy, only that the Inferiour Officers and Souldiers should have liberty to go to their owne homes.* Which was so much beyond the Honour of our actions, that it was thought as unhonourable to be accepted.

Tuesday the two and twentieth, Early in the morning more Arrowes were shot into the Town at severall places of the Line, with Papers fastned to them, wherein was written as followeth.

August 21. 1648.

WHereas *on Sunday last, in a Letter to the Lord* Goring, *Lord* Capel, *and Sir* Charles Lucas, *Conditions were offered to all private Souldiers, and inferiour Officers under Captains, to have liberty to go to their severall homes, without injury or violence; and all*

ſuperiour Officers, Lords and Gentlemen to ſubmit to Mercy. And whereas the ſame hath been concealed from the Souldiers and Inferiour Officers aforeſaid, neverthelesſe if they will before Thurſday next lay hold on the ſaid Conditions, and come away in a Body from the Enemy, the ſame Conditions ſhall be performed to them which have been offered; but in caſe they ſhall ſuffer the Towneſ-People (whom we ſhall not receive) to be turned out of the Town, and ſuffer them to periſh under the Walls, they muſt expect no Mercy; And if the Townſ-men in armes ſhall joyne with the ſoldiery in coming forth in a body as aforeſaid, they ſhall alſo be free from violence.

This prety little ſtratagem they thought would have infuſed ſuch a wild-fire in the mutinous brains of the Rout, as would in an Inſtant have blown our Intereſt into Ayr, and invited the Soldiery to have delivered their Officers up as a Sacrifice to obtein their own Liberty: But their hopes were laid flat in this, for inſtead of a compliant acceptance of theſe Propoſitions, they reſolved to accept of no Conditions, wherein their Officers ſhould not receive a benefit. The

The Councell of Warre having alſo the day before permitted Doctor *Glyſton* to go out again, with one Maſter *Sheffield* (one of the Committee then Priſoner in the Town, brought from (*helmsford*) to mediate with the Generall for the People of the Town, ſent alſo by him other Letters concerning the Souldiery, for Conditions of Rendition, but Anſwer was returned, *that they had given us a former account of what Conditions they would give us, and thoſe they would ſtand to, and no other we muſt expect.*

And now being drawn to a ſad exigency, and plunged into a very great extremity, it was not for us to protract time, but to adde Wing to our reſolutions, and cloſe up our mil-fortunes as neer as we could, with an honourable concluſion, and with the beſt contrivancy of ſpeed that might be; for we had ſcarce left uneaten, one Cat or Dogge in the Towne, ſome Horſes we had yet alive, but not many, for there were at that time in the Commiſſaryes account a liſt of ſeven hundred nnd thirty Horſe, that had been kil'd by him, and orderly diſtributed out; beſides thoſe that the Soldiers had ſtoln out

of

of the ſtables and kill'd, and others that Gentlemen ſlaughtred for their privat tables, which I am confident made the number above eight hundred; and for Bread there was not Corne left for one dayes proviſion, and many mouths to feed, for we had made all kind of Corne the Town would afford, as Mault, Barley, Oates, Wheat, Rye, Peaſe, and all we could recover into bread, for eight Weeks togegether, to lengthen our ſtore, ſtill contented to undergoe any thing in particular that we might advance the generall ſervice; but our hopes were now quite diſſolved in abſolute feare of unavoidable ruine.

Yet this gaſtly viſage of our Intereſt could not exile that incomparable courage that generally inſpired this gallant party with lively actions and patient ſufferance, as if it had been equally indifferent to them, contentedly to undergoe proſperity or misfortune; all mens reſolutions were ſet on fire to deſperate deſigns and by ſome unpreſidented attempt to ruine their Enemy, or to periſh nobly in the enterprize, ſince it is much better to die Honourably, than live Baſely.

The

The meaneſt of the Soldiers as yet held a conformable obedience to the commands of their Officers, undaunted in their courages, and couragious in their actions, notwithſtanding the many deſigns and politick engines the Enemy had imployed to alienate them from their duty, and diſhearten them in their ſervice.

But leaſt there might be any miſ-apprehenſion betwixt the Soldiers and Officers upon the putting any deſigne in execution, This Engagement was drawn, and generally ſigned by the Officers, and Gentlemen through the Quarters.

WEE whoſe names are here under written, doe in the preſence of Almighty God, proteſt againſt all conditions that are or ſhall be ſent from the Emy, by which our libertyes may be infringed, and our Honours blemisht. And we doe upon our honours ſolemnly engage our ſelves, not to deſert one another, nor the Foot, till by Gods aſſiſtance we have forced our paſſage through all that ſhall oppoſe us, or to perish in the act, which we atteſt this

three

three and twentieth of Auguſt, *one thouſand ſix hundred forty eight.*

Then the Town was againe ſearched what Proviſions was left, a ſevere account given, and all private ſtores taken, and brought into the Commiſſaries, leaving but to every family that had moſt but one peck of Corne., of all or any ſorts, yet all would hardly amount to one dayes Proviſion of bread.

The next day being Thurſday the foure and twentieth, the Enemy ſent in a paper Kite to the Towne, which hovering a good while over, that the Souldiers might take notice of it, at laſt they let drop in the mideſt of it, with many papers fixt to it, to the ſame purpoſe as thoſe before ſhot in with the Arrowes, and with them a book alſo of the relation of a great Victory over the Scots, and their generall rout; and within two howers after made a generall triumph through the whole Leaguer, giving a volley both of ſmall and great ſhot, round the Town in all quarters; and ſome of their ſhot playing thick into the Town gave us a very ſtrong alarum, and as great hopes that it

it was but the forerunner of a ſtorme, or the Beginning of one, till we perceived it at ſo great a diſtance, as beyond and about the Windmill beyond the Eaſt-ſtreet. But now their aſſurances were ſo great of gaining a Victory without blowes, that they thought (as indeed it was) the beſt policy to forbeare, although they had drawn their approaches ſo near the Line under *Berry* Fields, by the ſhelter of a wall which was yet ſtanding, as that their Souldiers from the Trenches, and ours from the Line might talke together, and throw ſtones at one another, and did frequently.

Friday the five and twentieth, the Councell of War met againe early in the morning, where they reſolved to ſend the Lord *Fairfax* word into the Leaguer, *That ſince he denied to treat upon any conditions that were Honourable, notwithſtanding our actions and demeanours in the ſervice had been nothing but what became our Honours and fidelity, if he were pleaſed to make an attempt of attaking us, he ſhould not need to ſpring any Mine (as he boaſted he had ready,) but that any Gate about the Town, that he ſhould make*

choice

choice of, should be set open, and his enterance disputed afterwards.

But he was now sure (as he thought) of having us at an easier rate than the losse of so much blood as such a surprize must cost him if he had carried it, which he would hardly have doue. And indeed it was his best policy not at all to storme us, since he had leisure enough to wait our doome, the Kingdome in generall being so dull & sluggish, as not to act any thing that might require his remove; which had but any parts done by rising, though with small parties, at that time, might have easily forced him to; so that he must either attempted a surprize by storm, or fairly retreated with a hazard of his honour, if not his Army; and had he storm'd we had endangered the shattering of his whole Body, the edge of whose fury was by this time much taken off, and somthing startled both at our resolutions and courses for defence, and much frighted at our Sithes, and scalding Pitch, which was kept boyling in Iron pots and caldrons, every night round the Line, with long Ladles to cast it over the Rampire upon their storming.

Where-

Wherefore conſidering the condition we were ſo ſadly plunged in, through the defeat of the Scots, the diſloyalty of the whole Kingdom, and the want we were in of proviſion to ſubſiſt any longer, not having any hopes that we could poſſibly hold out two dayes longer, unleſſe without bread, which we muſt do, or not at all; it was the finall reſult of the Councell of Warre, to draw out the whole party that night, to their Arms, both Horſe and Foot, with what Ammunition was leſt, which was not much, and as many ſhort Scaling Ladders as could be procured in the interim, and in the deadeſt time when we might be leaſt expected, to ſet open two of the Gates, and march out and ſtorme their Line, and ſo falling into their head quarters, beat up their whole Army, and relieve our ſelves, or force our march through all oppoſitions that they ſhould endeavour to obſtruct us with, or periſh in the attempt; and if the private Souldiers ſhould entertaine any ſuſpicion that the Gentlemen, and Officers, who had yet Horſes, ſhould ſeeke out their ſafety by flight, and leave them engaged

every

every man (excepting only the General and the Major General) to piſtol his own horſe in the head of them; Which deſign being agreed on, and ſecrecy enjoyned, and every one taken his orders according to his duty in it, the Councel broke up, & every man betook himſelf with the utmoſt of his endeavours to the making preparation in the day for the nights ſervice.

The Enemy having this day planted four great pieces for battery againſt *Berry* field; fired about ſevenſcore great ſhot in the foorenoon againſt the old Wall, but did very little hurt, only beat off the tops of two old ruined Towers upon it, and kill'd ſome three men.

This was taken as an opportune alarm to call the Souldiers generally to the Line, whereby they might unexpectedly be in a readineſſe for the intended ſally without Bag or Baggage, which was concluded generaly to be left behind; for if we gained our hoped victory, we ſhould command both them again, & our Enemies to boot; if we failed, we reſolved to have no need of them.

This I confeſſe would have been a deſperate

perate enterpriſe, but as Noble, and had it proceeded to action, it might (for ought I know) to as honourable ſucceſs, by a glorious victory; and turned not only to our own liberty, but the whole Kingdomes freedom, and peace; as it hapned in *Paris* once, when the Duke of *Burbon* being beſieged, and ſo diſtreſt, that his Soldiers called out to him to yeild rather then ſtarve; made a reſolute ſally upon the French Army, deſtroyed the whole body, and took the King priſoner; and from thence marched againſt *Rome*, where, although he was killed, yet the Army took the City, and beſieged the *Pope* in the Caſtle of *Angeli*.

Now all things were almoſt in a redineſſe before night, and the Ammunition and ſcaling Ladders brought to a particular place, ready to be carried to the Line; but long ere night there was ſome Officers that (although I am ſo charitable as to think not diſſenting from the deſigne) alleged many Arguments, that it might be better deferred till the next night, becauſe they thought that then they ſhould be in a far better readineſſe; by which means it was put off.

But that night, by a moſt deſperate misfortune, though by what means I know not, but before morning, ſome mutinous ſpirit had inſinuated into the private Souldiers, that the Officers and the reſt of the Gentlemen were reſolved that night, or very ſodenly to break away through the Leaguer, and eſcape, and leave them all engaged.

Which ſparke roſe to ſuch a flame, as indeed proved a prefating Comet to our ſucceeding ruine, and thoſe Souldiers ſo remarkeably gallant before, gave a curbe to that couragious ſpirit that guided their Actions in the honourable obedience; and poyſoned their diſturbed brains, into a frenzy of deſperate mutiny round the Line; In ſome places threatning to caſt their Officers over the Line: So high a mutiny indeed it was grown before day, that it was rather likely to end in an immediate ruine to themſelves and Officers too, than a pacification; for the Enemy never wanted their incendiaries amongſt us, to agravate any miſcheife that might poſt forward our deſtruction, and wee might be aſſured would not only (and did) adde fuell to this unnaturall com-

buſtion

buſtion, but give the Enemy notice thereof, that they might make the beſt uſe of it.

Then the Lords, and Sir *Charls Lucas*, Sir *William Compton*, and Sir *George Liſle*, expreſſed themſelves indeed in all the proceedings, men as active as honourable, and beyond expreſſion in both; but never more than in the managing of this Buſineſſe, the reſt of the Officers as diligently beſtirring themſelves alſo as could be expected, and indeed to admiration, ſo that at the laſt they had wrought a little mildneſſe amongſt them, by endeavouring to give them all the ſatisfaction that could be in this their miſapprehenſion.

Yet notwithſtanding all endeavours to pacifie and allay this ſtrangly conjured Devill, it proceeded ſo on till it grew to ſuch a height, that many left their guards and got in crouds about the Line, and at the laſt, whilſt the Councell of War was ſitting, ſelected about thirty, which they ſent to the Councell, to know what their intentions were, ſaying, *That if they would not make conditions for them, and ſuch as they ſhould like of, they would Ar-*

ticle for themſelves over the Line, and leave their Officers to ſhift for themſelves as they underſtood their Officers would have done by them. This put the Councell of War into a great diſtraction, the Souldiers, till then, never having acted any thing diſhonourable, or unlike the moſt gallant Souldiers that ever defended Town; and had ſuffered the greateſt inconveniencies that ever, I think, men did, with as extraordinary cheerfulneſſe, never ſhewing the leaſt diſcontent at any thing.

Theſe comming to the Houſe where the Councell ſate, ſent in two, which they ſuppoſed to be moſt able ſpeakers, who being called in, The Lord Norwich aſſured them of the falſity of their allegation; to confirme which, he alſo gave them a true underſtanding of the deſigne; telling them alſo, *That they were ſo far fro deſerting them, or ſeeking any good, that ſhould not extend in as great a meaſure to the meaneſt Souldier amongſt them, as to themſelves; That they were reſolved to give themſelves a prey to their Enemies mercy,* (as it proved indeed) *and caſt themſelves into the greateſt inconveniencies*

that

that cruelty of a bloody enemy could oppresse them with, if thereby they might free the inferior Souldiery from ſuffering; and that it was their deſires to deliver themſelves up priſoners to the Enemy, to purchaſe them an honourable liberty; to which end, they were Commiſſioning Gentlemen to the Lord Fairfax *to Treat for it.*

To which the Souldiers returned this Anſwer, that they deſired not any liberty that ſhould be purchaſed at ſo dear a rate, with many affectionate expreſſions of their reſolutions to ſerve their Officers again then, or at any time, when they ſhould be commanded, and departed very much ſatisfied: which for the preſent appeaſed the Mutiny, and ſo well indeed, that through their own folly their miſery was like to ariſe, and began to examine how this jealouſie began, but now it was unſeaſonable.

And now it was as much too late to thinke of any thing but the worſt of adverſe Fortune for the ſuperiours, and preſent delivery; the Enemy already knowing as much of our Condition in every reſpect as we our ſelves.

So the Souldiers being thus pacified and

and diſmiſt to their Poſts, it was generally reſolved as moſt convenient in that condition, to ſend a Gentleman from the Councell to Treat with the Enemy for conditions, being fruſtrate of all hopes of longer ſubſiſtance or ſecurity, or poſſibility of further attempting any deſigne. Whereupon Col. *Sam. Tuk:* (compleat in Honour and Ingenuity) was immediately ſent forth, with full power to accept of any conditions he could obtein, and to conclude before he came back, who returned not till very late that night, yet time enough to let us know the ſad concluſion we were like to have. For the General (by the inſtigation of his Councel of war) was fallen from thoſe conditions which formerly he had offered, and now they began to inſult over our miſeries, and the beſt that could be obtained, were to deliver our ſelves up, the Souldiers Priſoners at War with all Officers under Captains, and the Lords, and other Officers and Gentlemen, to ſubmit to Mercy; and that we ſhould ſend the Committee forth (that were Priſoners with us) the next morning, if we would have any thing at all with him.

See a juſt judgment for diſobedience, in this reward theſe Souldiers gained to themſelvs, for their ſo tumultuous & mutinous diſorder: their own thraldom (wch. proved ruine to many of them) their Officers deſtruction, and (for ought I know the ruine of a deſign, that might elſe have been ſo proſperous, as to give redemption to the whole Kingdome from that Vaſſalage it is unhappily plunged into.

The next morning, being Sunday the 27 of *Auguſt*, the Councell of Warre meeting again, and this account given, inthere was no refuge, nor remedy left, nor any thing to truſt to, but what conditions the Enemy would give us; the Committee was therefore immediately diſpatched, and Col. *Tuke* with five other Officers ſent forth again to the Enemy, to confirm and ſigne Articles for rendition, and manner of delivery. The Soldiers of the Enemies Army and ours being already mixt on many places of the Line, no fire given on either ſide, as if we had been abſolute Priſoners, long ere any concluſion was made.

Towards night they came back, and brought with them the articles, which

were to be put in execution the next morning.

The ſeverall Regiments to lay down their Arms at their ſeverall Poſts, and there to remain with their Officers under Captains, till they ſhould be diſpoſed of.

The Lords, with the reſt of the Officers and Gentlemen to be by eight of the Clock in the morning at the Kings-head, and their Horſes and Arms without any imbezilment, in Saint Maries *Church-yard.*

All the Ordnance to be left on the platforms as they were planted; all the Ammunition of Powder, Match and Ball, to be left in the Magazen at the Town Hall which was eaſily don, for there was but one barrell and a halfe of powder left; many great ſhot were indeed left, in the Lord *Capels* quarters, which the Enemy had ſhot into the Town, and the Souldiers gathering up, ſold to him for ſix pence a Bullet.

But many of our Horſes were taken violently out of their Stables by the Souldiers of the Leagure, who flockt into the Town before the Gates were opened, contrary to the Articles, and plundred every

ry thing they could lay their hands on.

And now began the laſt ſceene of this Tragedy; The Lords and Gentlemen according to the Articles met at the Kings head, & the reſt of the Army at their appointed places, and all things ordered according to conditions; & about two of the clock in the Afternoon, the Lord *Fairfax* entered the Town, and rid it round to view our Line and ſhew himſelfe in triumph to the inferior Souldiers, but came not near the Lords; where he found a juſt cauſe for his admiration, how it was poſſible we could maintaine it ſo long againſt him, whoſe very name was as he thought enough to conquer.

Then he went to his quarters in the Town, where a Councell of War immediately met according to his appointment to luxuriate their unſaciable mallice, in a collation of Loyall blood, and raiſe their trophees in ruine of Incomparable virtue.

And after they had inſulted upon our conditions, aud ſported away ſome Votes of contempt upon us, then lying at their unmercifull mercy, they concluded

cluded their malice, and decreed a barbarous sacrifice of innocent virtue, and of some prey.

Then they sent Colonel *Ewars* to the Kings head to visit, as we thought the Lords and Gentlemen, but he brought a sentence of death in his heart, though not immediately in his mouth, which easily discovered it selfe in his death-like countenance.

Comming up into the Chamber, first saluted the Lords, and afterwards came to Sir *Charls Lucas*, and with a sighing gesture told him, That the Generall desired to speake with him at the Councell of War, with Sir *George Lisle*, Sir *Bernard Gasquoine*, and Colonell *Farre* if he were there, but he was not there; so Sir *Charls Lucas* as prefaging what indeed did afterwards follow, took his solemne leave of the Lords and the rest of his fellow prisoners that were neer him, and calling Sir *George Lisle* (who was in discourse, and heard not what was spoke) and Sir *Bernard Gasquoine* went away with him, leaving the rest of the Gentlemen with sympathizing Souls, sighing prayers for them, for well they might

might imagin what evill was intended towards them; though they knew themw guiltleſſe of any thing that might juſtly bring their lives in queſtion, though at the mercy of the Enemy, it being a generall rule, that the greateſt expreſſion of noble valour appears in the higheſt civility to an Enemy ſubjected to Mercy, and was alwaies the practice of the moſt gallant Enemies in the World.

So *Julius Cæſar*, having vanquiſh't *Pompey*, in the field (his moſt implacable Enemy) purſued him into *Egypt*, where, when he came, his head was preſented to him (treacherouſly taken off) by *Theodotus*, who thought by that means to ingratiate himſelfe into an extraordinary favour with *Cæſar*; but he no ſooner beheld it, but inſtead of rejoycing at the death of ſuch an Enemy, turned away his head, and wept; and underſtanding the actors of that murder to be *Achillas* an Eunuch, and *Photinus*, immediately cauſed *Photinus* to be put to death, and had given the like reward to the other, had he not fled to the Army and oppoſed him.

Many examples in this kind have I met with

with, but never any for men to murder with mercy.

But what ſhould we expect in a Kingdom, ſo heatheniſhly reformed, but loyall obedience by pretended Law to be made Rebellion, and horrid T: placed Iudg of the Court; whilſt innocent Allegiance receives its deadly doome at the Bar.

The Lords and Gentlemen ſitting thus expoſtulating with their diſcontents, and ſtill revolving in their diſtracted minds what would be the event; about an hower after came a Meſſenger from Sir *Charls Lucas*, to deſire a Chaplaine to be immediately ſent to him; which ſtrook a dead ſorrow in to the hearts of all.

Whereat the Lords (deſiring that no man might be a particular ſufferer in ſo generall a cauſe) called up one Captain *Cannon* an Officer of the Enemies, and Intreated him to haſten to the Councell of War, and deſire them in the behalfe of the Priſoners, that they would not make thoſe Gentlemen they had taken from them any greater ſufferers then they intended to all; who being all equally concerned in condition, deſire alſo to be ſo in ſuffering.

But

But all this could take no effect in them, having paſt their doom without ever calling the convicted to the Court, or Bar. A new unheard of way, of condemning men in our Nation.

The Condemned, though not Convicted Knights, were immediately conducted to the Caſtle; which was nothing now bnt a Dungeon and the County Goale; Then Col. *Ireton* comming to them, ſaid they muſt prepare themſelves for death; Then Sir *Ch. Lucas* asked him, *by what Law they were to dye, or whether by an Ordinance of Parliament, by the Councell of Warre, or by command of the Generall?* To which *Ireton* made this anſwer; *That it was by the Vote of the Councell of War according to an Order of Parliament; by which Order all that were found in Arms were to be proceeded againſt as Trayters.*

Then Sir *Charls Lucas* replyed, alas! *You deceive yourſelves, me, you cannot, but we are conquered and muſt be what you pleaſe to make us:* with a countenance cheerfull as one going to a banquet rather than death, not ſhewing the leaſt ſymptome of feare, but as it were ſcorning

Death

Death as much as he did the Instruments that gave it; Only he desired time till the next morning, as to settle some things in this World, so especially to prepare and fit his Soul for another, but that could not be granted, then he went on again, Sir, *Doe not think I make this request out of any desire I have to live, or escape the death you have doom'd me to, for I scorn to ask life at your hands; but that I might have time to make some addresses to God above, and settle some things below, that I might not be thrown out of this world with all my sins about me; But since it will not be by your charity, I must submit to the mercy of God whose holy Will be done; Do your Worst I shall soon be ready for execution.*

Sir *George Lisle* said very little, only in the like manner desired a little respite, that he might have time to write to his Father and Mother; but was also denyed. True Servants of their old Master, and good practitioners in his doctrine, thought it not enough to destroy the body, but as much as in them lay to kill the Soule also.

But Colonel *Ireton* having taken his leave

leave of them, they took an Antidote for that poyſon, and went immediately to prayers; Sir *Charls Lucas* firſt praying and breathing forth ſuch zealous expreſſions and heavenly ejaculations that he ſeemed tranſlated already into another World while he was yet alive, they afterwards prayed with the Chaplain, and received the bleſſed Sacrament.

This religious devotion being finiſhed they were haſtned forth into the Caſtle-yard to be executed; But Sir *Bernard Gaſqoine* (whom they had condemned ere they underſtood what Country-man he was, and after they had again conſidered of him) was reprieved out of the conſideration that he was a ſtranger to the Kingdome.

When theſe two true Engliſh Worthies came to the place appointed for execution (ſcarce to be believed amongſt Chriſtians or men of humanity) there came Col. *Ireton*, *Rainſborow*, and *Whaley* to be as well ſpectators as actors, in this inhumane tragedy; to make their eyes witneſſes (though not their ſoules ſenſible) of their unchriſtianity.

Where they found the Loyal Gent, ready

ready to be sacrific'd,& with as undanted resolutions to receive death there; as ever before they had dared it in the Field, where the boldest Rebell never gained Honour by questioning their Gallantry.

Sir *Charls* being the first that was to receive this honour of Martyrdome told them *that he had often looked death in the face in the field, and now they should see he durst dye*; Then having a little while retired himselfe upon his knees, he rose upwith a chearfull countenance and opening his doublet, shewed them his breast and setting his hands to his sides calls out to them, *see I am ready for you, now Rebells do your worst*; so they immediatly fired at him and shot him in foure places, so that he was suddainly dead.

Then Sir *George Lisle* his turne being next, (being before carried a little aside, that he might not see his Friend fall) was brought to the place to perform the concluſive part of this bloody scene; and viewing the Body of his dear friend and fellow Martyr dead and bleeding on the ground, kneled down and kist it sobbing forth a funeral Elegie in many sweet

Characters

Characters of his peerleſſe and unſpotted honour.

Then ſtanding up, took out of his pocket five pieces of gold (the whole ſtock he had about him) and gave one of them to his Executioners, and the reſt to a Gentleman then ſtanding by (who formerly had been his ſervant) to deliver as his laſt Legacy to ſome friends in *London*, with ſome filial expreſſions of duty to his Father and Mother, and recommendations to ſome other friends.

Then turning to the ſpectators ſaid, *Oh! how many of your lives here have I ſaved in hot blood, and muſt now my ſelf be moſt barbarouſly murdered in cold? But what dare not they doe that would willingly cut the throat of my dear King, whom they have already impriſoned; and for whoſe deliverance, and Peace to this unfortunate Nation, I dedicate my laſt prayers to Heaven, and now Traytors do your worſt.* Then ſtanding regardleſs of them with many invocations on the name of Ieſus, was ſuddenly alſo thrown dead on the ground; Which place leſt there ſhould want a monument of that cruell murder to all eternity, I am informed (by thoſe, and they divers, who have ſince viewed it) is yet bare of graſſe,

& cannot be forced by any art to bear any.

And since I have endeavoured to erect a monument to their immortall fames, though but their very names alone were enough to adorn it, yet shall adventure (though with a hazard of many a heavy censure for my audacity) to imprint this Epitaph upon it's cloudy front.

Though heer's no Calpe, *nor* Arbyla *nigh,*
Yet here two Pillars with non ultra *lye;*
And those Herculean *too whose red tyde*
sts ands
(As t'other) crusht betwixt 2. mighty lands.
Measure their lives by their brave Images
In Death (as by the foot was Hercules)
Each a Colosse of Honor was, and strid
Or'e Trophee's higher than a Pyramid.
Their Foes (more monstrous than what Affrick *bred)*
Insulted when these noble Victimes bled;
Whilst they were glad their Souls were Vshers made
To march in Glory 'fore the Royall Shade.
Malice thy work is done, While this sad
Isle
New Seas surround for Lucas *and for*
Lisle.

Thus

Thus fell theſe matchleſſe twins of valour, and payre of glorious Martyrs, poſting to receive the inheritance of that never-dying honour in the other world; being thruſt headlong out of this for having too much here.

Night being come, and the Chaplaine being returned, and this being related to the Lords and Gentlemen, every man expected that his own turn might be next, looking one upon another with clouded faces, that dictated to each other a noble ſympathy of their troubled hearts, not out of any conſideration or fears of what they expected to ſuffer, but for the untimely loſs of thoſe Gentlemen ſo untimely by a barbarous mercy murdered. Thus they were al thruſt into one Room, from whence if any but ſtept to another, he was immediatly ſtript ſtark naked; thus continued the reſt of the Priſoners till about Candlelighting, then in came Commiſſary Generall *Ireton*, Col. *Whaley*, and Col. *Ewers*, and ſaluting the Lords, told them, *They were ſent from the Generall, to them, and the reſt of the Gentlemen, to tell them that now (for they ſuppoſed it was not unkown what had been done) he did by them give an aſſurance of what before they held doubtfull: faire*

quarter as Priſoners of Warre.

But the Lord *Capel*, inſtead of returning thanks, told them, *They ſhould have given the Generall more thanks if he had ſaved the lives of thoſe two Knights, whom they had already executed, then for the grant of their own*; ſaying alſo, *that their conditions in relation to the ſervice, and their owne yet alive, were alike, and all equally concern'd in the managing of that deſigne, and it was their deſire to have run all one hazard*; which ſeem'd much to diſpleaſe the Meſſengers; after this theſe Gallants made an *exit*, the Lords, with ſome other Gentlemen, were drawn out and conducted to Mr. *Warreas* houſe over againſt the Kings head.

Colonell *Farre* having eſcaped for the preſent, eſcaped alſo the Iudgment the other two underwent; but was afterwards taken, and ſent with a guard, to his owne quarters, and there kept cloſe priſoner till the remove of the reſt.

After the Generall had kept us thus up three or foure days, he found out a new ſtratagem, both for diſpoſing the priſoners, and paying his Army; firſt he layes a fine of 13000 l. upon the Towne, with which money he intended to pay the private

vate Souldiers; and for the Officers, he diſtributed to every Regiment a certaine number of Gentlemen that were priſoners, as ſlaves to the Gallyes, or to ranſome themſelves. The Officers whereof came to the pound (as the manner of graſiers is by their cattell) and cald them firſt out of that into another, and then drove them away for the market, to make the moſt of them; ſo moſt of them afterwards as they were able, and according to the civility of thoſe they were diſtributed to, bought their liberties, and returned home; in which manner they diſpoſed of the greateſt part excepting thoſe who in that deſigne were in principall command.

The private Souldiers and inferior Officers were drawn from their Line, and ſhut in the Churches, where they immediately placed guards over them, and gave free Liberty to their foot Soldiers, to goe in and pillage them; ſo that in a very ſhort time there was very few or none left with any cloathes on them, hardly ſhirts, and afterwards they having thus pillaged and ſtript them, ſome changing for their raggs, & ſome giving them nothing, they march't them away, in a day when it rained ſo violently, as (had we not had Gods engage-

ment to the contrary) we might have feared a second deluge; how they diſpoſed of them afterwards I know not, but there are divers in the Kingdom that will tell you how they marched them from place to place in the country, lodging them in Churches and ſuch places till many of them ſtarved, and divers that could not march by reaſon of their faintneſſe, they piſtold in the high waies, and ſome they ſold (as before they did the Scots) to be tranſported into foraine Countries from their Wives and Children, no matter whither ſo they were once gon.

The Lords, with the reſt of the priſoners, were kept in the ſame places they were at firſt, till the Tueſday following, and then (that they might be diſperſt, as neare as poſſible to their abſolute ruine) they firſt (by examining their ſervants) having gotten knowledg of each particular mans Country, tranſmitted them to ſeverall priſons, as contrary and far diſtant from their own homes as they could contrive; the Lords with ſome of the Gentlemen to *Windſor*, and the reſt to *Oxford*, *Lynn* in *Norfolke*, *Warwick*, *Pendennis* in *Cornwall*, & St. *Michaells Mount*, *Arundell* Caſtle in *Southſex*, *Gloceſter*, *Hereford*

ford, *Cardiff* in *Glamorgan shire*, and divers other places.

What became of them since, is writ in the daily book of their several misfortunes.

This unhappy successe waited upon these noble Gentlemen and their design, which let no man judge by the event (a great argument with those whose understandings cannot perpetrate beyond the outward bark or face of things) for by the same inference they may conclude unrighteousnes in God, who is sometimes pleased to give victory to the enemies of his truth. It is too saucy a thing to confine his providence, or determine his holy will, for my part I am confident had our repentance been as ripe for his favour and mercy, as our sins were before (and I feare do yet continue) for his frowns & judgments, this engagement had brought home the Ark to Israell, our liberty, and His, whose glorious seat is now in Heaven, while His memory on Earth lives fresh in the martyrdome of the most Saintlike man that ever swaid an Earthly Scepter.

It was said by *Plutarch* of those who murdered *Cæsar*, *ex percussoribus Cæsaris sanè triennium nemo vixerit*, of those murderers of *Cæsar*, not one survived three years.

years. I am no Prophet, but I beleeve God is juſt, and it not poſſible, but his vengeance is preparing for ſo execrable a Regicide, that wanteth an equall in ſtory for the malice and barbarity.

As I dare not ſay without blaſphemy there is no God in Heaven. ſo I muſt not ſay without Treaſon there is no King in our *Iſrael*, while our hopes bud in the name of CHARLES the ſecond, who may yet ſucceed his Father, both in His Throne and Virtues. *Exurgat Deus & diſſipentur inimici*, you that have not hands to help him, may yet take up the arms of the Church, *preces & Lachrymas.*

For my own part I will not deſpaire while there is mercy in Heaven, and a juſt title upon Earth, but he may fulfill that Prophecie that is ſo authentickly averred concerning his Perſon; when all theſe horrid diſtractions and clouds ſhal vaniſh into a calm, and there ſhall be no more a *Babel* City,

Carolus, a Carolo,
Major erit Carolo Magno.

To

To my ingenious friend upon his Exact Iournall of the Kentiſh Forces.

WHat I muſt ſay on this (my very Friend)
Should rather be to cheriſh, than commend;
Since Criticks Iury-men (perhaps) may grudge
That one ſo partiall ſhould be thy judge:
Yet I may draw my atteſtation ſo,
That as a Witneſſe they may let me go.
Then on thy Commentary (which in right
I cann't call leſſe, ſince thou didſt act and write)
I will ſay this; Thou doſt not Mercury't
In any circumſtance, except in Wit:
For he will know that language underſtands,
Thou 'ſt *Iacobs* voice, as well as *Eſau's* hands.
Thine own heards ſlaughter too, thou'ſt dreſt ſo neat,
That to the ag'd it will be ſavory meat:

And

And may they bleſſe the for't, that thus doeſt tell
With how much brav'ry *Liſle* and *Lucas* fell.
There thou tol'dſt thy Saints bell, that our eyes
To them might pay their annual obſequies.
And ſhew'dſt their ſlaughter-men, that they ſurvive,
Whom they of life intended to deprive.
Indeed their Manſion they have changed thus;
That is, they live, not in themſelves, but us.
Thus by thy pen, thou giveſt them what they loſt,
Anticipating their laſt riſe almoſt:
For them (as then) we now in Glory ſpie,
But I confeſſe, 'tis Intellectually.
Thy language thus givs both a life, & ſhape
To th' Martyr'd Corpſes, as an Æſculape.
Yet for this Art none can reward thy pen,
Since there's no triumph or'e a Citizen;
Vnleſſe you'd ſav'd (not rais'd them) you can't owne,
A juſt pretence unto the Graſſy Crown.
Thus (ſtead of Lawrell) I muſt now bequeath

Nought

Nought to thy Front, except a Cypreſſe wreath.
For (I think) rightly no man underſtands
A fatall Tragedy, that claps his hands.
Thns (friend) thou ſeeſt, I can no bayes conferre;
Ile be thy Vſher not thy Trumpetter.
Thy new born off-ſpring I will cheriſh rather,
(As Goſſips doe) ſaying, 'tis like the Father.

Your impartiall Fidelio,
G: W.

To the Ingenious Author of theſe Commentaryes.

I'Ve read thy tract, this is my ſumm,
Thou'ſt made thy *Kent*, our Chriſtendome.

RODERIGOE.

To

To my Honoured Friend upon his Commentary.

THoſe able Souls who can claim great Eſtates
In the large fields of fancy, whoſe conceits
Free, high, & virgin in each golden line,
Like gems ſet in that gliſtering metall ſhine,
May chance go neer to cloath their muſe (my friend)
In a fit equipage for to attend
Thy triumph, when a poor, and needy braine
Muſt be a blot in thy more pompeous train.
When ſuch as I endeavoure thee to praiſe,
We do but bring thee thorns inſtead of Bayes,
And by an indiſcreet affection wound,
Thoſe Temples we intended to have Crown'd.
Yet muſt I on, and ſo with what I doe
Thee Injury, muſt crave thee pardon too;
For ſhould I ſee thee thus engag'd among

An

An hoaſt of Enemies, ſcourg'd by thy tongue,
And like a true-borne coward, nor ſtrike a blow
In thy behalfe, nor dare to face the foe,
As well might theſe great ſpirits who there dy'd
Condemn my cowardice, as now my pride.
Th'haſt greater art than *Dædalus* ere knew
To twiſt ev'n Inke it ſelfe into a clew.
More power than the higheſt fates afford,
Makes paper fighting, and a pen a Sword.
Then lead the way, and we will learn of thee
Anew to ſpell our miſ-lead loyalty.
Thou who could'ſt guide us thorow the wild maze
Of error, and teach truth thoſe narrow waies
Shee's often loſt in, learn confuſed fame
In her mixt Dialect for to ſpeak plain,
Taught by what thou'ſt obſervd, and done before,
And now haſt ſaid wee'l act, and erre no more.
No more ſhall *Kent* hang down her drooping head,
And ſadly tell the number of her dead;

But

But bleſſe her overthrow, as proud that thou
Haſt taught her thus the way to conqueſt now.
Lucas, and *Liſle*, ſhall ſtart amaz'd that words
Should have a pow'r to vindicate their ſwords.
And CHARLS himſelfe confeſſe his Wain to be
A great deal fitter to be driv'n by thee.
Nay which is more, he ſhall at length confeſſe
His Wain full mooned by thy brains increaſe.

E. P.

FINIS.

To march away now we could not, for we had no way to march, but that we muſt within a day fall into a champian country, where the enemy being ſo very ſtrong (as we were weak) in horſe, would have cut us off at an inſtant; our Foot being no ſuch experienced ſouldiers as to maintain a charge of themſelves, both againſt Horſe, and Foot, where there were no hedges to guard and ſhelter them from Horſe; though ſome have judged otherwiſe of the deſign, and the conduct of it.

Now by this incomparable diligence on all parties (no man at the firſt knowing where to find proviſion of any ſort, more then belonged to every private family for ordinary ſuſtenance) we found in a ſhort time, in ſeverall places of the town, and a place called the Heyth adjacent, many private ſtores of corn, and wine of all ſorts, with much ſalt, and ſome fiſh, and a good quantity of powder, the want whereof would ſuddenly have thrown us into abſolute ruine, having very much exhauſted our magazine by the laſt dayes buſineſſe.

It is ſaid, that he that will picture War, muſt firſt begin with the belly: ſo we (according to that policy) having many bellies

to

to feed, and not knowing how long it ſhould pleaſe God to continue us there, were the more inquiſitive after proviſion; by which means at the Hieve (for ſo it is more vulgarly called) we found a greater aſſiſtance then indeed we could have hoped for, which was conveyed into the town as conveniently, as time would permit, the Enemy being ſo favourable as never to endeavour to cut us off from that place, till we had almoſt dreyned the honey from the comb; which they might eaſily have done, had they ever enterpriſed it. A providence almoſt as great as that of the Iſraelites in the Wilderneſſe: For, it is reported, that in the memory of man there never was known ſuch plenty of all things in that place, as accidentally then.

Whileſt we were thus active for prevention of all dangers that might happen, by ſtrengthening the walls of the town, and fortifying where no wall was, by caſting up rampires and counterſcarfs, as a very great part of the town required, the Enemy was as buſie without, in running their trenches, making their approaches, and caſting up Forts and Batteries againſt us, ſtill earthing themſelves, and we as diligent and laborious

within, as in truth not without much neceſſity on our part, the Towne being in all places very weak, neither had it any more then one Flanker about it, and that very bad too, which was called the Old-Fort.

Now if it ſhall be objected, why in this time, not being certain of any timely reliefe, we did not draw out and fight with them, as it hath been often urged: They that will judge directly of our condition, will eaſily be ſatisfied of it: had we had no hopes at all of relief, which we then had, both from the Scots, and divers other places, at the ſame time in action; beſides it was conceived the greateſt piece of policy, by keeping the enemy in a lingering action, to give a remora to their deſignes, and ſo ruine them by delaies; by which meanes eſpecially we ſhould give liberty, and all opportunity to others that intended any action, to work their deſignes without interruption, and not to run the hazard of an immediate ruine, by giving them battell: for had we fought with them, it muſt have been upon infinite diſadvantages, (as I ſaid before) firſt in the inequality of the number of Infantry: And ſecondly in that we had

had no conſiderable party of Cavalrie in reſpect of theirs, whoſe greateſt ſtrength conſiſted in horſe. And it was not a raſh or fond ſuppoſition to think that could we hold what we had, till the reſt of the Kingdome ſhould riſe, we ſhould then do as good ſervice, as in the immediate victory: we ſuppoſed we might poſſibly hold out a moneth, and were reſolved on it, though it concluded in our own ruine; yet by that time, if not ſooner, we could not but expect (in all probability) a relief.

By this deſign alſo we were certain to give liberty to the Scots to march quietly into the Kingdome, being then as we moſt aſſuredly underſtood, upon their march, and neer the borders.

Neither was this all the hopes we cheriſht by this reſolution; but there remained a poſſibility of a victory over that Army, by delaying to fight with them, till ſome more fit opportunity ſhould offer it ſelf, or the tedioulneſſe of the ſervice weaken them by hard duty, conſtant action, & unſeaſonable lying in the field, in reſpect of the weather; & we have many gallant examples in this kind. *Pompey* was well adviſed for a while when he refuſed to fight and gave *Cæſar* ground:

But

But when by the importunity of his Captains he adventured the battell at *Pharſalia*, he loſt the battell, the freedome of Rome, and by it his own life.

The Conſtable of France made fruſtrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the fifth, when he invaded Provence, by waſting the Countrey, and forbearing to fight; ſo the Duke of Alvaria, by that policy wearied the French King in Naples, and diſſolved the boyſterous Army of the Prince of Orange in the Low Countries.

One more example I ſhall inſert, to touch more ſeverely upon thoſe hot-ſpur Politicians that ſhall ſo violently criticize upon that point, and accordingly refer the application, by looking into that battell of Pavy, as tragicall as fatall to France, where the King was taken priſoner, and the French fruſtrated of their main hopes of Italy.

The day before this overthrow, the King ſummoned a generall Councell of War, and deſired the opinion of his Officers, whether he ſhould give a Field to the enemy or not: Whereat an old Captain began exceedingly to perſwade the King to ſtay, and delay ingaging till ſupplies (which were already levied) ſhould come up and ſtrengthen his Army:

Army: desiring him not to throw into hazard unnecessarily, the welfare of France; Urging, that the consultation was not only for the Kings honor, but his safety: At which time there was at the Councel a young hotspur, fitter to begin, then continue a charge, who alleaged, that nothing was more honorable then that the victory should be gained by fight, &c. taunting the old Captain, It was no marvell though an old man and fearfull sought delayes, whose mind was disturbed with his usuall fears, and now was seeking a passage through his guts: The old man could not indure this his scurrility, but replied, Seeing the King will have us fight, I will die to morrow an honorable death before his face; when thou, forgetfull of thy brags, and rashnesse, shalt by a base flight forsake the field: Which Prophesie in all respects was fulfilled, the field desperately lost, and the King taken prisoner. Many more examples in this nature I could insert, but I think it as unnecessary, as tedious.

Now although we gave them not a field-battel, yet suffered them not to lie idle from fighting constantly almost in one place or other, both night and day. Neither were they so weak as some suppose, after our shattering

tering them, but that they were in their foot ſtill above, or equall our number before the Suffolk Foot joyned with them, who lay upon the brid es of the river ſo ſtrong before the enemy drew them over, that we could not have forced our paſſage, in caſe we had attempted it, but that we had been fallen on by the enemy in the rear, and been engaged both waies, to the hazard of an immediate deſtruction of our whole Army.

About the twentieth day of the moneth, divers gentlemen were ſent forth privately with Commiſſions to raiſe men in Norfolk, Suffolk, & Cambridge ſhire: But the Country forces having broken up the bridges, and guarded the paſſes, and the enemy taken the Fort called Merſey Fort, that commanded the paſſage into the Iſland, there was no paſſage left open for them, ſo they were forc't to return again, which they did ſecure, although through the enemies quarters, not a man being taken.

The next night a party of horſe, and foot was commanded forth into the hundred of Tendring, for the bringing in of proviſion, which returned the day following ſafe, with about one hundred ſheep, and ſix-

ty

beeves; which were all delivered into the Commissary for the generall store, and so everynight so far as our bounds would reach till the enemy begirt us closer, provision was brought in to the publike store.

Two or three daies after that part of the Countrey rise, to joyn with us: but the Captain who by Commission from Sir *Charls Lucas* was to levy and command them, would have betrayed them to the enemy in their rising, to ingratiate himselfe with the prevailing power, (an Epidemicall disease in this Kingdom) but was discovered, having not so much policy as villany; and seiz'd on by the Countrimen, till Sir *Charls Lucas* his pleasure might dispose of him, and them: To whom they sent two sufficient men of their party, to give him an account, making it their earnest suit, that he would send a party of Horse and Foot to assist them in their rising, and conduct them safe into the town, which according to their request was done; A party was drawn out and sent in the night, who stayed there about a week, and afterwards returned safe with those they had raised through the quarters of the Suffolk Foot, who were drawn over the river, and incamped betwixt them & the town.

Then

Then was another party commanded forth in the night, which marching out at the North-gate, forced through their quarters, and in the morning returned safe, losing not above two men, for which losse they gained livelihood for many more; for they brought in with them about fifty oxen, and cowes, besides sheep, and some corn and other provisions, and might have brought more: But Sir *Charls Lucas* being tender of his Countrey, would not permit them to drive from any, but those they should know to be actuall enemies; which proved afterwards a very great inconveniency, and prejudice to the Towne, for after that we never obtain the like opportunity, the enemy drawing immediately down neerer upon us, came within lesse compasse, and begirt us more straight; for they were indeed much incens'd with anger amongst themselves, that they should suffer us to march through their quarters upon a sally, and return again safe. Yet we secured the Heith, as a finall refuge for provision, from whence we conveyed daily, such provisions as it would afford, keeping a constant guard there; which the enemy endeavoured not to hinder us of, till we had left very little there.

July

July 5. The Councell of Warre publiſh't a Proclamation, for the calling in all ſuch townef-men, as would ſerve upon the line for the ſecurity of the Town, to liſt themſelves for the ſervice under ſeverall Captains and Officers, being deputed by Sir *Charls Lucas* to command them, and all others, to bring in their arms to be delivered up into the Magazine; and that none, who ſhould refuſe to liſt themſelves, ſhould keep any arms in their houſes, upon pain of death, and the forfeiture of their goods, to the benefit, and uſe of the Town.

About this time the enemy incroach't ſo neer upon us with their approaches, notwithſtanding our daily ſallies, and skirmiſhes with them on all parts, as that they fell down into Eaſt-ſtreet, and ſeized on the Mill on the river, and placed a ſtrong guard there; which guard, (out of hopes to have fired all that part of the ſtreet betwixt them and the Town, becauſe many of our men both quartered and guarded there alſo) ſet fire to a Tanners houſe and barn, with all the goods, leather and corn in it; the houſe being the next houſe to the inner-ſide over againſt them, and bringing downe two Drakes began to be ſomething buſie, and troubleſome

troubleſome to our guards; whereupon at the next Councell of War upon the diſpute, a reſult was made for a grand ſally on that part of the Town, which was accordingly performed, and Sir *Charls Lucas* commanding in chief, marched in the head of the horſe, and Sir *George Liſle* commanded the foot; the whole party conſiſted of five hundred foot, and two hundred horſe, out of which a forlorn party being drawn out, they firſt marched down towards the river, where the enemies guard was on both ſides the ſtreet, and a Barricado croſſe, from whence with their caſe ſhot from their Drakes, and ſmall ſhot from the Barricadoe and guard-houſes, they play'd very thick upon them, having no other paſſage over thſi river then a foot bridge, the end wherof reach'd within five foot of the enemies barricado. But as if it had been but a ſporting skirmiſh amongſt tame ſouldiers at a generall muſter, they regarded it not, but running on in a ſingle file over the bridge, & ſome for haſt through the river, mounted their barricado, and beat the enemy off in an inſtant; and having once gained that, overturned the Drakes, and charged on upon other parties that ſtill fired on them in the

ſtreet,

ſtreet, and paſs'd by the Guard-houſes till they had cleered a great part of the ſtreet; then ſurrounding them, charged in upon them, who having neither poſſibility of reliefe, nor indeed of retreat, or eſcape, yeelded upon Quarter; ſo they took the Captain, Lieutenant, and Enſigne, and about foure ſcore private Soldiers, with all the other inferiour Officers. Many were alſo kill'd in the adjacent houſes, the whole ſtreet almoſt being full of Soldiers. The Drakes they over turned, and one of them they threw into the River, but not having Teames ready, could not bring them off. Now the whole party being marched up, and having thus ſurpriz'd the Guard, they marched on, and made good the Charge till they had cleared the whole Street; which gave ſo great an Alarum into all their Leager, that they immediately rallyed together all the Foot and Horſe on that ſide the River, and marched down the hill from behind the Windmill, on the top of another hill in a very full and orderly Body, onely they left their Colours and Pikes with a reſerve behind the Windmill. But our Party having gained almoſt the top of the firſt hill, followed their charge ſo ſmartly upon them, that they ſoon forc'd

them to a diſorderly retreat, and quickly made them ſtrive to take their leave of their ground: But the Fields were over-ſpread with diſtractedly diſperſt Soldiers both of Horſe and Foot, ſome from Houſes out at Back-doores and windows, and others from Hedges in a great diſorder. Our Party being thereby encouraged, proſecuted their ſucceſſe, till they had beat them up beyond the Wind-mill, and forc'd Reſerve and Colours, and all they had, or could rally, to quit their ground, and ſo to diſperſe themſelves, that they were forc'd to divide their Horſe into three Squadrons or Bodies, one Diviſion to keep the Field againſt ours, having now made a ſtand to draw into better order; and the other two conſtantly wheel'd up and down, beating their Foot up as they ran away: Which courſe had they not taken, their Foot would never have diſputed a hedge, (for that was their refuge now) and we had immediately cleared all that part of the Leager.

But now having gotten a very thick hedge for their ſhelter, and being thus forced up, began againe to ſtand: and our Foot out of more heat of courage indeed then mature policy, having engaged thus farre, ſome of them

them ſtill ran on, till they gained an old thin hedge, oppoſite to the Enemy, beyond the Wind-mill, where they ſtill fir'd upon the Enemy, maintaining the oppoſite hedge, a party of the Enemies Horſe ſtill wheeling about in the Field between them; Which party by chance diſcovered that they had ſpent all their Ammunition, by hearing a Soldier fooliſhly calling out for ſome, and thereupon ſuddenly clapt ſpurs to their Horſe, and made a full Charge in upon them through that hedge, (as they might eaſily doe any part of it) who not having Ammunition, nor time to retreat, were moſt of them kill'd and taken: Till when we had loſt very few in all the Charge, though many were wounded in it, as could not otherwiſe chooſe in ſo ſmart a ſervice: Although I confeſſe the Saints of our times have found out ſuch a way of fighting, as to kill thouſands, with the loſſe of very few men: but tis onely Tongue-charmes that guard their Armies, and not any Providence, that conducts them to ſuch Miracles.

Now the Body of our Party being upon their Retreat, and perceiving of this, faced about againe, and received their Charge with ſuch an undaunted reſolu- then forced

them againe to as ſpeedy a Retreat; and ſo marched eaſily off into the Towne againe, and in very good order.

In this action Sir *George Liſle* was once taken Priſoner, but immediately reſcued; and in all we loſt one Captaine, and one Lieutenant, and about 30. private Soldiers, which were taken at the broken hedge, but very few kill'd. Mr. *Weſton*, a Gentleman of the Generalls Troop, being ſhot in the belly, was alſo taken Priſoner. Of the Enemies, 80. and odde were brought into the towne priſoners, and between two and three hundred kill'd; amongſt which was the Colonell that ſucceeded Colonell *Needham*, in the Command of his Regiment, who was kill'd the firſt nights on-ſlaught, and many of them wounded; of which very few eſcaped, but dyed within a very ſhort time, as their party confeſſed themſelves to our priſoners: either through neglect of their Surgeons, (in which we ſuffered very much alſo within the Town) or through the unſeaſonableneſſe of the weather, inſomuch that divers that came into the Town afterwards, and theſe men too that had been formerly in the Kings Service, affirmed that the buſineſſe was at the leaſt 500. men loſt

to them; beſides many that left the Leagure upon it, ſome comming into the Towne, three or four in a day, and often more for a long time together, and others ſtealing away to their own homes.

After which Sally the Countrymen began to diſguſt the Service, and thought it hard duty to lie ſo long in the Trenches, and were glad to entertain all commers that would undergo their duty for them, allowing them 10. ſ. a week conſtant pay to be excuſed themſelves: By which meanes many that came up from *London* and other places to have joyned with us, not being able to come into the towne, entred themſelves in their Armes; by which meanes they might more advantageouſly come to us, if it had been our fortunes to march out into the Field; But Heaven had otherwiſe ordained, having a farther Judgement for this wretched Nation.

The next night the Enemy ſtrengthning their Leaget on that part of the Towne, fell into the ſtreet againe, with a ſtronger party then before, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of their former guards and ground, and again fell to firing the houſes on that ſide of the River next the Town, ſuppoſing thereby to

fire our Guards which we had now placed in the face of them, being but a River betwixt, which much endamaged them, and kept the fire ſtill from doing any harme: Then they ſet fire to all the Windmills neer the Town, to hinder us from grinding our Corne, but we ſoon ſalved that ſore; for, finding at the Heith by the River ſide many Milſtones, lying for tranſportation, ſome of them were brought into the Town, and diverſe Horſe-mills ſet up, which proved very ſerviceable all the Seidge.

Then they raiſed two or three Horne-works and Redoubts on the North ſide of the Leagure, running their Trench up to them from the River ſide over againſt the Warren, where they placed diverſe great Peeces, which they played violently at a Mill called the middle Mill upon the River, the only Mill they ſuppoſed we had left; and indeed was, excepting thoſe Horſe-mils, but did little hurt to it; for they thought, if they diſ-inabled us to grind Corn for the Soldiers, that they would mutiny for bread: which was probable enough, and might have been, having ſuch poyſonous Incendiaries to ſet them on, as they had (I am confident) privately entruded amongſt them, and the townſ-

towns people to second them; but this was happily prevented by the dilligent care of the Lo: *Longhborow*, who made the most laborious toile as pleasing as the lightest recreation, by undertaking, and continuing the generall charge of providing all necessary provisions to be daily ordered and distributed by the Commissaries to the whole Town; insomuch that he would many times half a day together continue his strict eye over both Mills and Bakers, lest by their indiscreet (or it might be wilfull) neglect, very great inconveniences might happen.

The same care was also ordered to be taken by the Mayor for the peeple of the Town, who was commanded by the Counsell of War to make supplies of provision for the Inhabitants of the Towne, and to set up Mills for the grinding their Corne, who by this time began to be in want, the Town very full of them, and many of them indigent peeple, who were not in a capacity to provide for themselves, nor had scarce been when the Town was open: But the Mayor (whether out of a rebellious wilfulnesse, or Scottish simplicity, I leave others that know him to judge) but as I guesse my self, rather desiring to hazard the starving them, that so

by the violent inſtigation of unmercifull hunger they ſhould be urged to a mutiny in the Towne, by which meanes the Enemy might take hold of our confuſion amongſt our ſelves, and over-whelme us in a ſuddain and generall deſtruction ; for, notwithſtanding all threats and dayly urgencies from the Lord *Loughborow*, and Sir *Charles Lucas*, he ſtill neglected all care to provide Corne for thoſe who had none, or Mills to grind for thoſe who had yet ſome left.

Whereupon the poor of the Town having quite exhauſted their proviſion, began to throng together, making great clamours and exclamations of their ill uſage, and the neceſſities they were fallen into, their Bellies ſounding alarums to their Mouthes, made their mouthes inſtruments to thunder them forth to the ears of the Officers of the Army, now not at all reflecting upon the duty of the Mayor and Officers of the Town : Then Sir *Charles Lucas* at the next Councell of War (commiſſerating them as his own Towns-born people) made his deſire to the Lords, that they might have ſome Corn delivered them out of the generall ſtore, which was as eaſily granted as motioned, and an Order immediately drawne ; by which Or-

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der the Comissaries were appointed to deliver to every Family according to the number of people in it, such a proportion of Breadcorn, which amounted in grosse to 300. quarter of Wheat and Rye; the want whereof proved afterwards so great an inconvenience to our selves, as that half that quantity would have supported us til we had obtained better conditions from the enemy.

At a Councell of War the 12. by a generall consent, the Earl of *Norwich* caused this ensuing Declaration to be dispers'd, as well in the Enemies Leager, as in the Country:

A Declaration of his Excellency, *George* Lo: *Goring*, Earle of *Norwich*: With the Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County of *Kent* and *Essex*, in Arms for the prosecution of their Generall Petition, and solemne Engagement: And their Offer unto all such Officers & Soldiers as shal repair unto them.

COuld Prosperity make us insolent, this overture should be the story of our present fortunes: how numerous, how unanimous, how associated, how befriended, or (in a word) how heaven and earth conspire to our deliverance. Consider with what assurance we have managed our very despaires, and raised our selves to this height out of nothing. Consider withall, that we move still by the same resolves, as we are favoured and encouraged by that hand of

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Providence, which at first raiſed us.

From this poſture (Gentlemen and Fellow-Subjects) we ſalute you in a temper of love, and Chriſtianity, diſingaged (we aſſure you) from any intereſt, or mixture of revenge or feare. Peace is the end we aime at, and by Peace, if it be poſſible, we propound to accompliſh that end.

To which purpoſe, upon a ſad and compaſſionate thought, how many Innocent ſoules are ſeduced by the Impoſture of a pretended liberty, and how many more corrupted, by their owne importune neceſſity, into an erroneous, and unfortunate engagement; all which muſt in probability periſh, except they may be recovered by the offer of this, and this onely expedient:

What Officer, or Soldier ſoever, now in Armes againſt us, ſhall before the 21. of this preſent *July*, make his repaire unto us, or any part of our Forces, and there enter into an Ingagement, not to Act any thing againſt us for the future, ſhall have his arreares audited and paid: And we doe further oblige our ſelves, to interpoſe unto his moſt Sacred Majeſtie, for an Act of Indemnity; the ſucceſſe whereof from our gracious Soveraigne the King, we at all doubt not. And for the performance on our parts, we tie our Honours and the Faith of the County; Avowing with all, that we deſigne nothing of alteration either in Church or Common-wealth, but what this preſent Parliament hath declared to be the duty of good Chriſtians, and Loyall Subjects.

July 22.

July the 23 the Enemy drew downe upon the Heith, where we had a guard placed in the Church, but the Officer (Cap. *Horſmander* by name) who then Commanded the guard, no ſooner ſaw the Enemy, but delivered up his guard, himſelfe, and Soldiers, without ſo much oppoſition as the firing of one Muſquet; Which had he diſputed, he might in a very ſhort time been relieved, and drawn off; though the place could not have beene maintained. But that place proved very little benefit to them, for by that time we had ſcarce left any thing of Proviſion or Ammunition there, onely this benefit they might receive, they might underſtand what a neglect they had committed, in permitting us ſo long to keep it within our Quarters, when with ſo much eaſe they might have ſurpriſed it from us, for it lay ſo opportune to them to have fallen on, that had they made an attempt upon it, we could not have maintained it without engaging our whole Body, and quitting the Towne; and indeed had they ſurpriſed that place in any convenient time, as they might eaſily enough have done, before we drained it, we could not have kept the Town ten dayes, there lying the greateſt

greateſt part of our Proviſion, by which we afterward Subſiſted.

The next day having drawne the line very neere the Lord *Lucas* his houſe, they planted to Demy Cannons, againſt St. *Maries* Church, from whence they fir'd threeſcore and odd great ſhot at St. *Maries* Church ſteeple, but did very little hurt, for with as much ſpeed as could be a battery was raiſed againſt them upon the Curtain, from whence we had not playd above four ſhot, but one of their beſt Cannonneers fell, and about ſix men more, whereupon theydrew off theirGuns from that place, finding it too hot for their continuance.

Now the cauſe that made them ſo envious at that Steeple, was becauſe we alwaies kept a Sentinell there, which diſcovered their motion both night, and day; beſides we had made a platforme in the frame of the Bells, and planted a braſſe Sakar there, which flanking their trench did them much Injury.

The 25. day the Enemy drawing their line neerer the Lord *Lucas* his houſe, under the ſhelter of an old wall, and ſome buildings, brought up two Demy Cannons, and battering upon the Gate-houſe (whereſn

was

was a guard of a hundred Musketteers) beat one ſide of it to the ground, which falling into their worke (that was but a ſmall halfe moone drawne from one ſide of the great Houſe to the other) anoyed them very much; then fired two or three Granadoes immediately with it, which buried many in the ſtones and duſt, the reſt not able to ſtand the ſhock; betaking themſelves to their Swords, and the but ends of their Muskets, diſputed it very hard from one place to another, after they had loſt their line, till moſt of them got away, ſome out of the Wicket of the gate, and ſome out of the windowes, and broken places of the houſe. The Officers alſo forcing their liberty with the points of their Swords, came all off ſafe.

Neither could the Enemy much boaſt of this ſurpriſe, although it were ſome advantage to them; for they purchaſed it with the loſſe of many ſtout men, and of their oldeſt Soldiers, who they quickly found by the wall and trench ſides, ſome dead, and others ſpeaking their Enemies valour, in their owne miſerable dying grones. Whileſt of the whole guard conſiſting of a hundred men, not above ten were taken Priſoners,

and

and ſome foure or five kill'd, many I confeſſe were wounded, but came off and recovered.

And having thus poſſeſt themſelves of this Houſe, (as it is their cuſtome in all other places, the firſt thing thought on is plunder) they fell to ſearching the Houſe, and thoſe things that were in it moveable though little of worth, or conveniency they tooke away; which could be little more then bedſteeds, and ſtooles, and the like. That houſe having beene divers times before, and indeed the firſt in the Kingdom, as is believed plundred: But finding themſelves no better rewarded for their ſervice, that they might be more notorious in their villany, broke up the vault wherein the anceſters of that Family were uſually Interred, under the pretence of ſearching for money, and finding them not yet quit diſſolved, the corps of the Lady *Lucas*, and the Lady *Killigrew*, (as I received it from eye witneſſes) wrapt in Lead; they tore open that coffine, beyond what ever was known or read of before, or amongſt the moſt unhumane barbarous thoughts, diſmembred their trunks, throwing a legge in one corner of the vault, and arme in another, and

were ſo Impudent in this ſo and worſe then brutiſh act, as to beare away the haire of their heads in their Hats as a triumphant bravadoe in honour to their villanie. In which poſture the vault continued, till the corps of Sir *C. Lucas*, that Loyall Martyr, was brought to poſſeſſe it. Is not that Common-wealth happy that muſt receive a reformation from ſuch Saints? Who have theſe ten yeares been practiſing acts, abſolutely monſtrous to even nature it ſelfe: Beyond parallel, preſident, or politicall complotment of the moſt ſubtill Machavillian, or bloudy Tyrants in the world.

By this time our Magazeens began to be very empty, all our fleſh being ſpent, whereupon the next buſineſſe that was concluded on and ordered, was the ſearching what private ſtores there were in the towne, but they proved as weake as the other, then the Councel of Warre, (receiving a returne of the ſearches what the condition of the towne was, for matter of Proviſion, who had now examined every private Family) ordered that all the Horſe excepting two hundred, ſhould in the night ſally forth, and breake through the Leager, and if they could get through with that convenience

they wiſhed, to march *Northward* towards our ſuppoſed reliefe; For at that time we had received very great aſſurance by private letters, that reliefe was intended, and haſting towards us from Duke *Hamilton*, under the Command of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*: So the Horſe were all drawne to a Rendevouz in the Caſtle yard late in the night, and a party of Foot with them for their aſſiſtance in forcing the Enemies line with Pioneers, to levell a way for them to let the Horſe in, when the Foot ſhould have forc't the Enemy from their line, which was ſuppoſed would eaſily have beene performed, and thus they marched over the River by the Middle-mill, and came within the Enemies Centinells e're they were diſcovered, or any part of their guards Alarmed; but their guides, and Pioneers (being for the moſt part Townſmen) as out of a plotted combination amongſt them, ran away from them, the night being dark. So they were forc'd to retreat againe into the towne, which they did, without the loſſe of a man: but it gave the enemy ſo much notice, as they made an abſolute diſcovery, together with their intelligence from the towne: ſo it was (though afterwards) but bootleſſe to make a ſecond attempt.

At the next Councell of Warre, considering that the ſtores were ſo exhauſted, and all the ſteſh, or very near the matter, ſpent, it was thought moſt convenient to keep thoſe horſe, which were fitting, for the Souldiers to eat; ſo they were againe drawn into the Caſtle yard, with order that not any Officer whatſoever ſhould conceale his Horſes, but cauſe them to be brought into the field, upon the forfeiture of them to immediate ſlaughter; & the 3d. part of every Troop drawn out and diſpoſed to the Commiſſary to be kill'd, and ſome to be immediately diſtributed, and the reſt powdred; which the Soldiers very willingly ſubmitted to, and as cheerfully fed upon them, rather than deliver themſelves to their Enemies, upon any baſe or diſhonourable terms, which expreſſions of theirs were ſo common and publique, as that the Enemy hearing of our falling to Horſe-fleſh, heard alſo of that reſolution of the Souldiery, which did ſomething ſtartle them; for before they hoped for, and expected, our dayly ſubmiſſion to a Treaty for Rendition.

Now upon the laſt ſearch that was